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THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY'S  
TRANSACTIONS.

1880-2.



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I. SUDDEN EMOTION :  
ITS EFFECT UPON DIFFERENT CHARACTERS,  
AS SHOWN BY SHAKSPERE.

BY EDWARD ROSE, ESQ.

(*Read at the 52nd Meeting of the Society, Friday, May 9, 1879.*)

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THOUGH the title of this paper is already too long, it does not express with entire clearness the subject of which I propose to treat, nor show its distinctive feature, nor its limitations. I shall indeed endeavour to sketch the effect upon many different personages of sudden emotion ; but I shall look upon their characters not as many and diverse, but as essentially only two—as modifications (or, more rarely, pure examples) of two great opposing types : the men who are habitually self conscious, given to analyse their own minds and deeds, and the men who are not.

In real life we know too little of people to be able unhesitatingly to classify any but the most striking examples of a type ; we have, it is true, the manners and faces of men, from which to estimate their natures, and we have a few—generally the most casual and unimportant—of their actions ; but this is all. In Shakspere we have, if not their whole lives, yet (in the case of his greatest characters) almost all that is essential, stripped of much that, while merely accidental, is very puzzling ; and we have the clearest statement of the one great act of each man's life, with all its causes and consequences fully set out. From a collection of such examples as these, made by an observation so vast and a judgment so true, we ought to be able to deduce general rules such as could hardly be obtained from the particulars of real life, multitudinous and confused.

Yet, to make clear what I mean, I should like to mention one or two characters in real life which impress every one, I believe, as almost pure types of the two classes I have named. In the class of simple, direct minds, acting from obvious motives and with a minimum of self-consciousness, must surely come those of John Bright, of Darwin, of the late Duke of Wellington, and of a vast mass of undistinguished people, some dull, some hard, some exquisitely innocent, some marvellously selfish. These people vary as much as angel from devil, yet there is about them all a certain childlikeness, good or bad, a certain self-confidence, useful or dangerous. Even Darwin, while he admits most freely that he may be mistaken, has the self-confidence of utter purity ; he knows that he is merely telling you what he has seen, honestly, fully, and without *arrière-pensée* or reserve. So the Duke of Wellington did simply what seemed to him his duty, never thinking what it might seem to other men : and so many a man quite unconsciously obeys his own pleasure, his own ambition, or the will of some superior nature who without an effort masters him.

Of the opposite kind are many modern poets—Tennyson, Browning, very noticeably the late Arthur Clough : men who constantly look into their own minds, examine their own motives, deliberate, doubt, and change. A student of human nature, in the literary sense—a subjective poet—is, in the nature of things, bound to be of this class. Goethe and Byron, though both men of much practical sense, belonged essentially to it—they made it the business of their lives to think, and to express their thoughts : they were not among the great *doers* of this world. Their fine general powers might have obtained for them a good place among practical men, but nothing like the rank to which some parts of their faculties would seem to have entitled them. That there have also been men of infinite littleness in this class hardly needs to be said : a tiny intellect eagerly scrutinising itself cannot well be of any calculable value.

Shakspere, as a purely dramatic poet, had of necessity a nature prone to self-analysis, though his genius was large enough to analyse also nearly every other mind, while it yet noted all natural objects, and constantly kept all things in due proportion. But he made his one great representative character, Hamlet, perpetually self-conscious,

hardly doing a single thing mechanically : and I think that the valuable criticism that "Hamlet was the only one of Shakspere's characters who could have written all Shakspere's plays" points to a true fact—that Hamlet was intended by Shakspere as a portrayal of himself, though of himself under strange and unfavourable circumstances.

With this prelude, let me state my theory as to the effect of sudden emotion—I mean sudden emotion of the most intense kind—upon characters of these two opposing types, as shown by Shakspere. A man of simple nature sees a fact and realises it : a man in whom the reflective intellect predominates thinks about it. Therefore, a great sudden emotion stuns the one, makes him helpless for the time : the other does not realise it so intensely—it is more, as I have said, a great deal of new matter to think about, and his intellect is thus stimulated to think twice as fast as usual. Or I might put it thus : our moral nature takes a thing as a whole, our intellect examines, dissects it; therefore a great event awes our moral nature, but sets our intellect hard at work, and therefore men in whom the moral nature predominates are stunned, while men chiefly intellectual are stimulated, by a sudden occurrence of the highest joy or sorrow.

That Shakspere held this theory was suggested to me by two parallel passages : those in which are shown the effects of the Ghost's revelation upon Hamlet, and of the murder of Duncan upon Macbeth. I will explain my views by the citation of these, and of other scenes in which different, sometimes entirely opposite, characters are subjected to similar tests ; only premising that those personages alone can be made useful to our inquiry who are drawn with sufficient fulness to make it perfectly clear to which category, and in what degree, their natures belong.

To take Hamlet first. He may be said to feel sudden and intense emotion of some kind or other four times, at least, during the play : when Horatio tells him of the apparition of his father, when the Ghost comes to him and reveals the guilt of Claudius, after the play scene, and at the news of Ophelia's death. The first of these cases, however, we may dismiss. The emotion is sheer surprise, which cannot have the intensity of great joy or sorrow. He does not see

4 I. MR E. ROSE ON SUDDEN EMOTION IN SHAKSPERE'S CHARACTERS.

the Ghost ; perhaps he is hardly sure whether he can fully believe these men ; he is puzzled rather than awed.

The next instance is wholly different, though even here his feeling is by no means one of mere horror at the terrible news. It must be remembered that it is not absolute news. He had long dimly suspected some "foul deed," which, in fact, could only have been this. His intense emotion at the Ghost's story is really a relief after the torturing uncertainty of the last two months : he is in truth *happier* than he has been since his father's death. His brain, thus excited, works so fast that his leading thought is almost hidden by the rush of ideas, the crowded illustrations in which it is conveyed. Here is the scene :—

*Ghost.* Adieu, adieu, adieu ! Remember me ! [Disappears.]

*Ham.* O all you host of heaven ! O earth ! What else ?

And shall I couple hell ?—O fy !—Hold, hold, my heart ;

And you, my sinews, grow not instant old,

But bear me stiffly up !—Remember thee ?

Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat  
In this distracted globe. Remember thee ?

Yea, from the table of my memory

I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,

All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,

That youth and observation copied there ;

And thy commandment all alone shall live

Within the book and volume of my brain,

Unmix'd with baser matter : yes, by Heaven.

O most pernicious woman !

O villain, villain, smiling, damned villain !

My tables,—meet it is, I set it down,

That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain !

At least, I am sure, it may be so in Denmark :

So, uncle, there you are. Now, to my word ;

It is, *Adieu, adieu ! remember me.*

I have sworn't.

(Writing.)

\* \* \* \*

*Mar.* (Within.) Illo, ho, ho, my lord !

*Ham.* Hillo, ho, ho, boy ! come, bird, come.

Enter HORATIO and MARCELLUS.

*Mar.* How is't, my noble lord ?

*Hor.* What news, my lord ?

*Ham.* O, Wonderful !

*Hor.* Good my lord, tell it.

*Ham.* No :

You will reveal it.

*Hor.* Not I, my lord, by Heaven.

*Mar.* Nor I, my lord.

*Ham.* How say you then ; would heart of man once think it ?—  
But you'll be secret,—

*Hor. & Mar.* Ay, by Heaven, my lord.

*Ham.* There's ne'er a villain, dwelling in all Denmark,  
But he's an arrant knave.

\* \* \* \*

*Ham.* Nay, but swear't.

*Ghost. (Beneath.)* Swear.

*Ham.* Ha, ha, boy ! say'st thou so ? art thou there, true-penny ?  
Come on,—you hear this fellow in the cellarage,—  
Consent to swear.

*Hor.* O day and night, but this is wondrous strange !

*Ham.* And therefore as a stranger give it welcome.  
There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,  
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.  
But come :—

Here, as before, never, so help you mercy !  
How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself,  
As I, perchance, hereafter shall think meet  
To put an antic disposition on—  
That you, at such times seeing me, never shall,  
With arms encumber'd thus, or this head-shake,  
Or by pronouncing of some doubtful phrase,  
As, *Well, well, we know* :—or, *We could, an if we would*—or, *If we list to speak* ;—or, *There be, an if they might* ;  
Or such ambiguous giving out, to note  
That you know aught of me :—this do you swear,  
So grace and mercy at your most need help you !

Every line in this scene exemplifies the state of mind I have described ; one curious illustration of it is the fact that Hamlet's very first words after the disappearance of the Ghost are almost a conceit. His objection to the form of his own exclamation ("And shall I couple hell ?—O fy !") is nearly a quibble, and shows an intensely self-conscious nature stimulated to its highest degree. The well-known lines about the tablets are ridiculous unless delivered with this rush of hysterical excitement : nor can we otherwise explain his strange practical joke—for I can call it nothing else—of revealing, with much pretence of secrecy, the fact that "there's ne'er a villain, dwelling in all Denmark, but he's an arrant knave." His mind is so overflowing

that it seeks relief in apparently most unseasonable jests—as, above all, his mocking addresses to the “fellow in the collarage.”

After the play-scene we have precisely the same effect, accentuated by the fact that he bursts into little snatches of extempore rhyme. His play upon words in the following dialogue with Guildenstern bears this out remarkably.

Lastly, when he hears of Ophelia's death he is silent, after the brief “What! the fair Ophelia!” but this silence is enjoined upon him, almost inevitably, by the surrounding scene; and, whatever his first instinctive emotion may be, in a very few seconds he is collected enough to listen to Laertes and be annoyed with the bombastic expression of his grief. The intellect is instantly at work, criticising the words of others and keenly analysing his own feelings. No doubt angry with himself for being so little moved, he advances theatrically and tries to lash himself into an agony of passion; and, consciously failing, he gives a clever parody of Laertes' rant. His self-analysis is so searching and so unpleasant that it makes him lose his temper, and his very excess of intellect thus blinds him to obvious facts. “Dost thou come here,” he asks, “to outface me with leaping in her grave?” as if anybody but himself was thinking, at such a moment, of *him*, of the shallowness of *his* love! His brain is for the time so stimulated that his moral nature—his heart, as we say—is eclipsed: it seems, to others and himself, as if he had none.

Very like and very unlike to Hamlet is Macbeth—a man of a compound, one might say of a *double* nature. There is much of the same intellect, though it is less varied and more direct, far more influenced by keen ambition and far less appreciative of the beauty and power of virtue; while on the other hand the fact that Macbeth is a brilliant general shows that he must have very strong practical sense. Moreover, unlike Hamlet, he is really not morally scrupulous to any notable extent; he is only cautious. He appears to us as a hesitating man, but this is merely because we see him in a very difficult position, when any sensible man *should* hesitate. The reward of the deed he contemplates is a magnificent one, and he is forcibly urged to that deed by the one person in the whole world whom he loves and trusts, who happens to be a person of enormous

strength of will: were it not for this, he sees the dangers of the enterprise so clearly that he would almost certainly abandon it. But for Lady Macbeth, Macbeth would have been sensible enough not to have murdered Duncan at all.

Let me note in passing that we ought not to make too much of Macbeth's tendency to see ghosts and witches: it proves very little with regard to his character. Shakspere's ghosts and witches were real objective beings, who were actually seen and heard by many people of widely different characters—Hamlet, Horatio, Marcellus, Macbeth, Banquo, Richard the Third, Brutus, and others.

But to Macbeth himself. In the first Act he is surprised by the supernatural intelligence that he is to be thane of Cawdor and king, and the surprise is soon after repeated when he learns that half the news is true. His breath is taken away for a moment—he starts and “seems rapt”—but shortly afterwards he criticises, with intense thought, the position and his own mind. There is not, it is true, the rush of ideas which with Hamlet follows the ghostly revelation: but then the cause for emotion is not nearly so strong, he is not alone, and his intellectual nature, though like Hamlet's, is more practical and more concentrated.

But in the second Act he has a cause for emotion far stronger than any of Hamlet's, and the result is most remarkable. He, a brave and famous soldier, has just foully murdered a man—an old man, his guest, his trusting and generous master. His is not the unmixed intellectual character—he does feel his position, and not merely *see* it: and his moral nature is so deeply moved that he loses all self-control and nearly ruins all. The moment he has killed Duncan he shouts, “Who's there? What ho!”—the very worst thing he could possibly do. But *then*—we have immediately a marvellous psychological study: Macbeth's moral nature stunned and helpless, while his intellect—after, as usual, a momentary shock and pause—is working at a tremendous pace. Here is the scene.

He comes in. Lady Macbeth greets him—

My husband!

*Mach.* I have done the deed:—Didst thou not hear a noise?

*Lady M.* I heard the owl scream, and the crickets cry.

Did not you speak ?

*Macb.* When ?

*Lady M.* Now.

*Macb.* As I descended ?

*Lady M.* Ay.

*Macb.* Hark !—Who lies i' the second chamber ?

*Lady M.* Donalbain.

*Macb.* This is a sorry sight. (*Looking on his hands.*)

*Lady M.* A foolish thought, to say a sorry sight.

*Macb.* There's one did laugh in his sleep, and one cried, *Murder* ! That they did wake each other ; I stood and heard them : But they did say their prayers, and address'd them Again to sleep.

*Lady M.* There are two lodged together.

*Macb.* One cried, *God bless us !* and *Amen*, the other ; As they had seen me with these hangman's hands, Listening their fear. I could not say, *Amen*, When they did say, God bless us.

*Lady M.* Consider it not so deeply.

*Macb.* But wherefore could not I pronounce, *Amen* ? I had most need of blessing, and *Amen* Stuck in my throat.

*Lady M.* These deeds must not be thought After these ways ; so, it will make us mad.

*Macb.* Methought, I heard a voice cry, *Sleep no more ! Macbeth does murder sleep, the innocent sleep !* Sleep, that knits up the ravell'd sleave of care, The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath, Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course, Chief nourisher in life's feast,—

*Lady M.* What do you mean ?

*Macb.* Still it cried, *Sleep no more*, to all the house : *Glamis hath murder'd sleep ; and therefore Cawdor Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no more !*

And so forth.

To make a man who has just committed a terrible murder talk in this strained way, playing with words, quibbling on the fact that he has three names, which represent but one person, and giving seven distinct and elaborate metaphors for sleep, seems at first as if it must be the work of a very bad poet, trying to be conventionally poetical in the wrong place. But I think that all critics will acknowledge that it is a most wonderful example of the excited intellect running away, the will being powerless to stop it—and a most exact proof of

Macbeth's double character, half way between the mere man of thought, like Hamlet, and the ideal man of action, like Othello. But, like Hamlet, and not like Othello, Macbeth quickly masters his emotion, though at first (in the scene with Macduff and Lennox) only just sufficiently not to betray himself: he can only force out a few brief sentences—"Good Morrow, both"—"Not yet"—and so on, though even among these one is a striking reflection: "The labour we delight in physics pain."

But, as soon as the opportunity for violent action, and the clear perception of one needful thing to be done, awake him, his intellect rises to the fullest height of the trial: the thoughts flow as fast as ever, but now he can control and brilliantly utilise them. Returning from the slaughter of the grooms, he at once begins to declaim—

Had I but died an hour before this chance  
I had lived a blessed time; for, from this instant,  
There's nothing serious in mortality;  
All is but toys; renown and grace is dead;  
The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees  
Is left this vault to brag of.

He is asked why he killed the grooms: his excuse is admirable and perfect:—

Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious,  
Loyal and neutral, in a moment? No man.  
The expedition of my violent love  
Outran the pauser, reason. Here lay Duncan,  
His silver skin laced with his golden blood;  
And his gash'd stabs looked like a breach in nature  
For ruin's wasteful entrance; there, the murderers,  
Steep'd in the colours of their trade, their daggers  
Unmannerly breach'd with gore: who could refrain  
That had a heart to love, and in that heart  
Courage to make's love known?

In the third Act, Macbeth's scene with the Ghost of Banquo does not prove very much—the most noticeable point in it is perhaps the rapidity with which he recovers from his intense emotion, the almost purely intellectual character of his remarks when the Ghost vanishes. Only Shakspere would have given to a man in such a position such lines as

I' the olden time  
 Ere humane statute purged the gentle weal :

though Macbeth, unlike Hamlet, is too much moved to watch his speech, and lets slip the allusion to his crime :—

This is more strange than *such a murder* is.

When, in the last Act, he hears of his wife's death, the news is apparently no great surprise to him : its only evident effect is to stimulate his intellect to reflections even for him unusually fine—"Life's a poor player," and so forth. Finally, Macduff's declaration that he "is not of woman born" only interrupts for a moment the rushing excitement of the battle : this is only the last of a series of terrible surprises, and he is past feeling even it very deeply. His keen mind tells him that to die bravely, fighting against all hope, is the wisest course, and this he does.

I will now take some extreme instances of the opposite type of character — Othello, Desdemona, Macduff — that no intermediate gradations may make the contrast less striking. But first I must point out that the most intense emotion of these simpler characters is not so easily put into words by the dramatist, for the reason that its typical expression is silence, or inarticulate sounds of grief or joy. The poet must either leave these to the actor, or give a verbal picture, not strictly dramatic, of a mind which in reality would be stunned and speechless. The former alternative is a dangerous one, which Shakspere has rarely adopted — perhaps the example most nearly perfect is that of Helena, in the second Act of *All's Well that Ends Well*, who makes only one speech of a dozen words after Bertram has refused to marry her. In the alternative which he generally chose, of giving to intense emotion words more coherent than those of nature would be, there is I think a rule by which we can distinguish these utterances from such perfectly dramatic speeches as those of Hamlet and Macbeth : the latter are rich in intellect, filled with varied thoughts variously expressed ; the former are little more than repetitions of the one crushing conception, in words often curiously monotonous. Thus Macduff's

*All* my pretty ones ?  
 Did you say *all* ? O hell-kite ! *All* ?  
 What, *all* my pretty chickens and their dam  
 At one fell swoop ?

We see so little of Macduff that it is scarcely possible to fully sum up his character ; but all his one chief scene—with Malcolm first, and then with Ross—indicates a man of strong and simple feelings. The words he forces out are only spoken at the urging of his companion, who, indeed, expresses in one phrase Shakspere's theory as to the crushing effect of emotion on those characters who allow themselves to realise it completely and immediately :—

The grief that does not speak  
 Whispers the o'erfraught heart and bids it break.

Desdemona, the most lovable, I think, of Shakspere's women, is perhaps the strongest example of the rule I have proposed. Othello's attack at once stuns her ; she is brave, and denies his accusation as soon as he speaks it clearly, but the effort is almost too much for her. When, a moment later, Emilia asks her how she does, she can answer only—

Faith, half asleep.

(Then Emilia)

Good madam, what's the matter with my lord ?  
*Des.* With who ?  
*Emil.* Why, with my lord, madam.  
*Des.* Who is thy lord ?  
*Emil.* He that is yours, sweet lady.  
*Des.* I have none : Do not talk to me, Emilia ;  
 I cannot weep ; nor answer I have none,  
 But what should go by water. Pr'ythee to-night,  
 Lay on my bed my wedding sheets,—remember ;—  
 And call thy husband hither.

*Emil.* Here is a change, indeed !

[Exit.]

*Des.* 'Tis meet I should be used so, very meet.  
 How have I been behaved, that he might stick  
 The small'st opinion on my great'st abuse ?

*Re-enter EMILIA, with IAGO.*

*Iago.* What is your pleasure, madam ? How is it with you ?

*Des.* I cannot tell. Those, that do teach young babes,  
 Do it with gentle means, and easy tasks :

He might have chil me so ; for, in good faith,  
I am a child to chiding.

And, after she has roused herself to one great protest against her lord's suspicion, her mind relapses into bewildered helplessness for the short remainder of her life. She goes over again and again the one thought that she can take in—the enormous, utterly impossible crime of which she is accused. She realises only the accusation ; she cannot even *think* the existence of the sin. An exquisitely subtle touch shows how she tries, with her perfect innocence, to imagine what guilt is. She sees Lodovico, a young and handsome man, and wonders if it could be possible for her, another's wife, to love him. She resolves that she “could not do such a deed for the whole world.” In the last scene of all there is no spring, no elasticity about her mind ; no reflection, one might say no thought. In almost all other cases Shakspere shows how strangely the brain does its work in moments of great emotion. Here, by exception, he shows a perfectly simple nature beaten down by terrible reality. At the end her words have the directness and the oneness of a child's begging helplessly for delay of punishment :—

O banish me, my lord, but kill me not !  
—Kill me to-morrow : let me live to-night !  
—But half an hour !  
—But while I say one prayer !

Hero, by the way, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, is but an early sketch of Desdemona : when she is similarly accused, after a few sentences of simple answers and ejaculations, she falls in a swoon.

The great character of Othello undoubtedly belongs to this class. He has a strong and healthy mind, and a vivid imagination, but they deal entirely with first impressions, with obvious facts. If he trusts a man he trusts him without the faintest shadow of reserve. Iago's suggestion that Desdemona is false comes upon him like a thunderbolt. He *knows* this man to be honest, his every word the absolute truth. He is stunned, and his mind accepts specious reasonings passively and without examination. Yet his love is so intense that he struggles against his own nature, and for a time *compels* himself to think, though not upon the great question whether she is false. He cannot bring

his intellect to attack Iago's conclusions, and only argues the minor point: *Why* is she false? But even this effort is too much for him. It is, I have said, against nature; and nature, after the struggle has been carried on unceasingly for hours, revenges herself—he falls into a fit. That this is the legitimate climax of overpowering emotion on an intensely real and single character is plain. This obstruction and chaos of the faculties is the absolute opposite of the brilliant life into which Hamlet's intellect leaps on its contact with tremendous realities.

The soliloquy at the end of Othello's first scene with Iago may appear to make rather against my theory; it does not merely repeat one thought, it goes from point to point:—"If I do prove her haggard I'll whistle her off. Happily that I am black—or, for I am declined into the vale of years—yet that's not much. My relief must be to loathe her. 'Tis the plague of great ones." But this contradiction, I fancy, is only apparent. He is trying to force his mind to work, as I have said, and it flutters helplessly from one minor point to another; moreover, jealousy is a mean and worrying passion, attaching itself to details, not grand and broad like the greatest love, hate, or ambition. My theory, by the way, may help to account for what has always troubled critics—the extraordinary quickness with which Othello's faith in Desdemona yields to Iago's insinuations. Sudden and intense emotion stuns his nature, and makes it incapable of resistance.

A strangely unlike character to Othello's confirms this, when put to a test equally sharp, though entirely different in form. Shylock, with his immense power and fierce passions, was of a strength far too single and direct to waste itself in self-analysis. After his first great shock we do not see him, but we are told that he yields wholly to his passion, he rushes about shouting incoherently, "My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!"—his great intellect quite helpless. And this confirms the great scene in which we do see him, so stunned by the unjust decision of the judge that he does not attempt the arguments that must occur to every onlooker. His keen Jewish intellect does not set itself to destroy the contemptible quibble of Portia—indeed, the play would come to an end if it did—he yields, wholly and unreservedly, with barely an attempt to make terms.

This is one of the few instances in which Shakspere has chosen the alternative I have before mentioned, of entire realism. Shylock says only just what in real life he would say, and we therefore cannot be certain what he *thought*. He is crushed, and he goes ; and there an end.

This is my main case ; but before concluding with a few examples, typical and exceptional, I must pay some attention to a question sure to be asked nowadays. This is, Did Shakspere's treatment of the effects of sudden emotion vary as his mind developed ; and, if so, how—in what direction, and to what extent ?

With regard to his very early plays—up to *Romeo and Juliet*, at all events—this question is easily answered. In the strongest situations of these Shakspere has expressed himself almost entirely in conventional forms, thus, in reality, shirking the psychological questions they raised. To begin with, of course, he has generally dealt with the lighter class of subjects—at all events, with subjects less tremendous than those of his greatest period ; but, when strong emotion is requisite, the purely rhetorical form of its expression is often very striking. As an example of his simply declining the strongest situation of a play, take Valentine's reception of the news that his trusted friend Proteus has been false to him (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act V. sc. iv.).

*Val.* Thou common friend, that's without faith or love,  
(For such is a friend now,) treacherous man !  
Thou hast beguiled my hopes ; nought but mine eye  
Could have persuaded me : Now I dare not say,  
I have one friend alive ; thou wouldest disprove me.  
Who should be trusted now, when one's right hand  
Is perjured to the bosom ? Proteus.  
I am sorry I must never trust thee more,  
But count the world a stranger for thy sake.  
The private wound is deep'st : O time most curst !  
'Mongst all foes, that a friend should be the worst !

*Pro.* My shame and guilt confound me.  
Forgive me, Valentine ; if hearty sorrow  
Be a sufficient ransom for offence,  
I tender it here ; I do as truly suffer,  
As e'er I did commit.

*Val.* Then I am paid ;

And once again I do receive thee honest :  
 Who by repentance is not satisfied ,  
 Is nor of heaven, nor earth ; for these are pleas'd ;  
 By penitence the Eternal's wrath's appeas'd :  
 And, that my love may appear plain and free,  
 All that was mine in Silvia I give thee.

This is the whole scene !

A very characteristic example of the rhetorical treatment of emotion is Juliet's speech on the sudden news of Tybalt's death and Romeo's banishment :—

O serpent heart, hid with a flowering face !  
 Did ever dragon keep so fair a cave ?  
 Beautiful tyrant ! fiend angelical !  
 Dove-feather'd raven ! wolvish-ravenging lamb !

and so forth ; while the very difficult scene in which four different commonplace characters—the Nurse, Capulet, Lady Capulet, and Paris—learn the death of a girl they love, is turned into such a mere exaggeration of rhetoric that many have thought it intentional comic caricature.

The ordinary conventionality of the stage is that people describe their own feelings in poetical language, very much as an eloquent bystander might naturally do in relating the matter. To make great grief or joy almost silent is a rather early advance in realism, and I fancy that this will most usually be found in plays somewhere about the middle of Shakspere's career, as in the scenes here quoted of Helena, Hero, Shylock. But this is nothing more than a suggestion.

It would, however, be evidently a much more subtle analysis which should take note of the fact that the strongest emotion finds in some natures an intellectual vent, may be said to overflow in thought ; but in working out this principle there is one great difficulty. We may, I think, assume that Shakspere's was a mind of the introspective order, and it is unquestionably an early tendency of the dramatic genius to draw its characters from what it knows best—itself. It would not, then, be safe to assume that *Troilus and Cressida* is a late play because its hero's intellect, after a sudden shock, works wildly thus, pulls to pieces the straightforward evidence of the senses ; because he says he will stay—

To make a recordation to my soul  
 Of every syllable that here was spoke.  
 But, if I tell how these two did co-act,  
 Shall I not lie in publishing a truth ?  
 Sith yet there is a credence in my heart,  
 An esperance so obstinately strong,  
 That doth invert the attest of eyes and ears ;  
 As if those organs had deceptious functions,  
 Created only to calumniate.  
 Was Cressid here ?

*Ulyss.* I cannot conjure, Trojan.

*Tro.* She was not, sure.

*Ulyss.* Most sure she was.

*Tro.* Why, my negation hath no taste of madness.

*Ulyss.* Nor mine, my lord : Cressid was here but now.

*Tro.* Let it not be believed for womanhood !

Think, we had mothers ; do not give advantage

To stubborn critics,—apt, without a theme,

For depravation,—to square the general sex

By Cressid's rule : rather think this not Cressid.

It is, indeed, evident from many examples that Shakspeare, though he naturally analysed at great length the more complex nature, never came to devote himself exclusively to the study of either one of these two types. In his very latest plays, the *Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline*, he has companion studies of two contrasting characters, under circumstances to a considerable extent the same. Both Hermione and Imogen are accused by their husbands of infidelity, though it is true that the former is impeached in the presence of many people, while the latter is quite alone, except for the faithful servant who bears the news. But Hermione's is evidently a simple and grand nature of unusual strength, which, though fully realising its position, has force enough to bear with the amplest dignity a terrible trial. For this great soul no personal attack is too heavy to be endured ; it is only at the death of her son—following upon a joy so great that she could utter but one word—that, like Ilero, and not unlike Othello, she falls into a deadly swoon.

It is not thus that Imogen's curious, imaginative character is affected by such an accusation. She *thinks* ; thinks fast and hard, and talks as fast—she makes what is an almost continuous speech of sixty lines. She does not even casually mention Cloten without an

elaborate definition of his character — “that harsh, noble, simple nothing.” These are her first words, after that silence so often to be noticed in parallel cases in Shakspere :—

False to his bed ! What is it, to be false ?  
 To lie in watch there, and to think on him ?  
 To weep 'twixt clock and clock ? if sleep charge nature,  
 To break it with a fearful dream of him,  
 And cry myself awake ? that's false to his bed,  
 Is it ?

*Pis.* Alas, good lady !

*Imo.* I false ? Thy conscience witness.—Iachimo,  
 Thou didst accuse him of incontinency ;  
 Thou then look'dst like a villain ; now, methinks,  
 Thy favour's good enough.—Some jay of Italy,  
 Whose mother was her painting, hath betrayed him :  
 Poor I am stale, a garment out of fashion ;  
 And, for I am richer than to hang by the walls,  
 I must be ripp'd :—to pieces with me !—O,  
 Men's vows are women's traitors ! All good seeming,  
 By thy revolt, O husband, shall be thought  
 Put on for villainy ; not born where't grows,  
 But worn, a bait for ladies.

*Pis.* Good madam, hear me.

*Imo.* True honest men being heard, like false Aeneas  
 Were, in his time, thought false ; and Simon's weeping  
 I did scandal many a holy tear, took pity  
 From most true wretchedness : So thou, Posthumus,  
 Wilt lay the leaven on all proper men ;  
 Godly and gallant shall be false and perjured,  
 From thy great fail. Come, fellow, be thou honest ;  
 Do thou thy master's bidding. When thou see'st him,  
 A little witness my obedience : Look !  
 I draw the sword myself : take it, and hit  
 The innocent mansion of my love, my heart :  
 Fear not ; 'tis empty of all things, but grief :  
 Thy master is not there ; who was, indeed,  
 The richest of it : Do his bidding ; strike.  
 Thou may'st be valiant in a better cause ;  
 But now thou seem'st a coward.

\* \* \* \*

*Pis.* O gracious lady,  
 Since I received command to do this business,  
 I have not slept one wink.

*Imo.* Do't, and to bed then.

*Pis.* I'll wake mine eye-balls blind first.

*Imo.* Wherefore then

Dilst undertake it ? Why hast thou abused  
 So many miles with a pretence ? this place ?  
 Mine action, and thine own ? our horses' labour ?  
 The time inviting thee ? the perturb'd court,  
 For my being absent ; whereunto I never  
 Purpose return ? Why hast thou gone so far,  
 To be unbent, when thou hast ta'en thy stand,  
 The elected deer before thee ?

Two facts I have not yet noticed which are of considerable importance. The immediate necessity for obvious action—even the opportunity of action—often greatly modifies the result of sudden emotion, acts as a vent for it ; and the sharing of emotion with others has also a great effect, not quite easy to define. A good example of both these facts is the behaviour, so strangely alike, of Brutus and Cassius (two most unlike men) immediately after the murder of Cæsar.

An early play and a late one—*King John* and *King Lear*—give curious studies of the effect of sudden emotion on exceptional characters. One is apt to take Constance as a passionate, single-minded woman ; and much of the expression of her grief might be held to be merely conventional—such lines as

O amiable lovely death !  
 Thou odoriferous stench ! sound rottenessst !

of course remind one at once of Juliet's rhetoric. But if we continue the scene, and examine particularly the famous lines

Grief fills the room up of my absent child,  
 Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me,

we shall find that Constance's intellect is keenly analysing her self : that, intense as her sorrow is, she thinks about it quite as much as she feels it : and that there is little danger of its breaking the o'er-fraught heart, as does the speechless grief of more massive characters.

Lear would need an essay to himself, so I will leave him alone, with this criticism only—that the mad old king, with his intellect, his will, and his animal nature, all strong and all violently wayward, are curiously paralleled in a famous modern man of letters ; and that those who would understand the deeds and the emotions of King

Lear cannot find a better clue to them than the Life of Walter Savage Landor.

One must not quit any examination of Shakspere without some notice of the humorous side of his genius, and it is easy to find among his comic personages many who confirm my theory as to the stimulating effect upon certain natures of even the greatest shocks. Take Falstaff : that immense intellect of a lazy, self-indulgent man, in the very first moment of disaster—when the King suddenly turns upon him—does the very best thing. Who but Shakspere would have made Falstaff's first words “Master Shallow, I owe you a thousand pounds”—would have made his intellect, at such a hopeless time, so swiftly think out the only possible way of turning off so public a disgrace ?

*Love's Labour Lost* is an extremely early play, but its example is so borne out by a later and more famous one that it is worth quoting. Biron's position, when, after taunting and reproaching his companions, he is himself found out, merely excites his generally mocking and prosaic wit to utterances of high-pitched poetry impossible to its ordinary moods. He out-talks Hamlet himself, and in such a style as this :

Who sees the heavenly Rosaline,  
That, like a rude and savage man of Inde,  
At the first opening of the gorgeous East  
Bows not his vassal head, and stricken blind  
Kisses the base ground with obedient breast ?  
What peremptory eagle-sighted eye  
Dares look upon the heaven of her brow,  
That is not blinded by her majesty ?

In *Much Ado About Nothing* Benedick and Beatrice, the later Biron and Rosaline, are moved similarly by the supposed discovery of each other's love : Benedick not in so poetical a form, but Beatrice in exactly the same way—she too, in this much later play, quits her customary prose for ringing poetry expressed in alternate rhyme.

What fire is in mine ears ? Can this be true ?  
Stand I condemned for pride and scorn so much ?  
Contempt, farewell ! and maiden pride, adieu !  
No glory lives behind the back of such.

And, Benedick, love on : I will requite thee,  
 Taming my wild heart to thy loving hand :  
 If thou dost love, my kindness shall incite thee  
 To bind our loves up in a holy band.  
 For others say thou dost deserve, and I  
 Believe it better than reportingly !

Last of all let me give an example of those whom I have mentioned as tiny intellects eagerly scrutinising themselves. These are the very subjects of comedy : and among them surely stands Dogberry, one utterly and ceaselessly absorbed in the admiring contemplation of his own mind. The greatest shock such a nature could possibly feel would be that of a rude attempt to dethrone its idol, to prove its wonderful Self a poor and common thing, unworthy of this devoted and lifelong study. Such an attempt is Conrade's irreverent "Off, coxcomb !" with its astounding sequel, "You are an ass !" After, we may imagine, one gasp of utter wonder—which has been safely left to the actor—Dogberry bursts into a flood of words, of accumulated, consecutive, and appropriate thoughts of which we should have judged his intellect, as we had seen it in calmer moments, utterly incapable :—

"Dost thou not suspect my place ? Dost thou not suspect my years ?—O that he were here to write me down—an ass ! But, masters, remember, that I am an ass ; though it be not written down, yet forget not that I am an ass.—No, thou villain, thou art full' of piety, as shall be proved upon thee by good witness. I am a wise fellow ; and, which is more, an officer ; and, which is more, a householder ; and, which is more, as pretty a piece of flesh as any is in Messina ; and one that knows the law, go to ; and a rich fellow enough, go to ; and a fellow that hath had losses ; and one that hath two gowns, and every thing handsome about him.—Bring him away —O, that I had been writ down an ass !"

## II. HAMLET'S CURSED HEBENON.

BY DR. B. NICHOLSON, M.D.

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No attempt to explain Hebenon has, I believe, as yet been made, except by Dr Grey. And it was only when it was endeavoured at the close of last session to revive his theory, that I awoke to the knowledge that I had read and re-read the passage, and had never asked myself the question, What poison is this?

Omitting further notice of his other idea, that it may have been a transcriber's error, for all the quartos and folios agree in reading either Hebona or Hebenon, I pass on to his theory that He-be-non is a transliteration or anagram of Hen- or He-ne-bane. This is a mere conjecture devoid of any proof, rather contrary to all known facts. 1. No one has met with another instance of this so-called transliteration. 2. It is not a transliteration, for *o* is not *a*, and in the case of Hebona, the first form, neither is *a*, *e*, and there is the loss of the second *n*. It is well known that the anagrammatists of that time were tied to strict rules, even if we admit that some in desperate circumstances found it necessary to transgress them. 3. Again, when such desperate circumstances happened to people of inferior ingenuity it was because they aimed at transposing a word or words into another word or other words that gave a known sense, generally an appropriate or flattering sense. But what could Shakspere have proposed to himself by changing Henbane, the name of a known poison, into an unmeaning jumble of syllables? And why should he have thought it necessary in such a case to change *a* into *o*, &c.? In fact, I might with equal or better proof say that the transliteration of the old

spelling "balme" shows that it is etymologically connected with "blame."

But it is urged that Shakspere made similar transliterations—for, as I have said, this cannot be called a true anagram—in other instances. First, I reply that in these supposed instances the resulting words are proper names which do not require to have a meaning. No one supposes that "William" forms "Will I am," except by an accidental coincidence. Secondly, I deny the fact that Shakspere can be shown in any one of his writings to have used, not anagrams, but any such anagrammatic changes. Take Caliban, said by some to be an anagram of Canibal. Sycorax was the only human being with him from his infancy for an unknown number of years. He never seems to have attempted to gratify what must have been an innate propensity, and kill, and cook—I beg Shakspere's pardon—and eat her. Nor is a hint given us that he made his belly her tomb, when she died a natural death. Neither, though he thought Miranda a dainty bit after a different fashion, did he, so far either as we learn or can by probability judge, attempt to kill and devour her or Prospero. Neither, when he incites Stephano to his murder, have we any gloatings of his own as to the savouriness of the pie he'll make, nor of the toothsomeness of his bones. Caliban is gluttonous enough, but his ideas of tit-bits are very different.

"I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries;  
I'll fish for thee,

\* \* \* \* \*

I pr'ythee, let me bring thee where crabs grow;  
And I with my long nails will dig thee pig-nuts;  
Show thee a jay's-nest, and instruct thee how  
To snare the nimble marmoset; I'll bring thee  
To clust'ring filberts, and sometimes I'll get thee  
Young scamels from the rock."<sup>1</sup>

In fine, Caliban is supposed by these ingenious theorists to have

<sup>1</sup> Mr Dyce indeed asks, "Did Caliban mean that his new friend should eat the nimble marmoset?" To this I first ask, what other item of this catalogue was not meant to be eaten? Secondly, I affirm that had Mr Dyce been a sensual brutish animal, only partially human in birth and shape, and were he debarred from all other wingless flesh, he would, like Caliban, have answered Prospero with, "I must eat my dinner," even had dinner only consisted of roast marmoset.

derived his name from a practice of which he neither could have had the slightest experience, nor towards which he by his words and actions evinces the faintest tendency. It only remains for them to assert, that Shakspere, by transliterating Canibal into Caliban, meant to show us that he differed from a Canibal!

A second Shaksperian transliteration has lately been discovered. Sycorax, it has been found, was formed from "Sorcerer." But as this gives Sy—, or rather Secorer, the masculine ending "er" was changed into the feminine "ax." Passing by these little discrepancies, and the fact that the most acute hearer of riddles could not have discovered this unless it were first explained by its author, I will accept it when it is agreed that this nineteenth century after Christ has discovered, what was undiscovered by the subtle Ulysses, that Ajax was, as shown by his name, a bouncing Amazon; also, when it is allowed that Hector in Astyanax deceived the Greeks and all ancients, mediævals and moderns, and that he was in reality a girl, a discovery made through the fact that the father, when he changed her clothes, omitted, like the dull-pated Ajax, to change her name; also that Astyanissa is but a variant form. Lastly, when it is established that all crows (as evidenced by the name *corax*) were supposed in Rome, before Pliny's 'Natural History,' to be females, and bred in a manner peculiar to themselves.

But enough of these things. It only remains to add, 4, that the effects of Henbane, either as ascertained now or as believed in in Shakspere's days, are as perfectly distinct from those assigned to Hebenon as the effects of one poison can be from those of another. I would add, that the effects of Henbane, the *Insana radix*, were so well known that had Shakspere attempted to describe them as those of his Hebenon he would have been mercilessly laughed at by any audiences who had the slightest pretensions to learning, and by the critical Jonson, who about that time was sneering at and ridiculing Ophelia for having, even at her maddest, so much as thought of a coach.

Before concluding our criticisms on this theory it may be as well to say a few words on a point on which much unnecessary stress has been laid; not, however, that it was unnecessary to those in dire

want of a plausible argument to support their imaginings. It has been said that Shakspere here copied Pliny's statement as to Henbane dropped into the ear. Now, first, it being a mediæval notion, as evidenced by Shakspere himself, that the ear-opening led directly to the brain, what necessity is there that only Henbane, and no other poison juice, should be so used? Secondly, Pliny speaks not of the juice, but of an oil from the seeds, and it is not Shakspere's usage to alter thus unnecessarily the words he borrows. Thirdly, Pliny does not say that it kills—much less that it kills after the fashion of Hebenon—but merely that it "is enough to trouble the brain," a phrase readily understood by those who from Latin times to Shakspere's called it "the insane root." Fourthly, whatever Pliny may have thought, it was well-known in Elizabethan days that Henbane juice dropped into the ear was useful against ear-ache.

The supposition, therefore, perforce, reduces itself to this—that Hebenon is (almost) formed of the same, but the anagrammatised letters of Henbane, while at the same time the known properties of Henbane were in accordance therewith, anagrammatised or changed into the new and unknown properties of Hebenon. I therefore conclude by saying, and it is saying a good deal, that a more baseless conjecture, and one more contrary to known facts, has never been propounded on a Shakspere passage.

It then became necessary to seek some other Hebenon or Hebona. The words at once suggested the Latin *Hebenum*, they being, at first sight, like our English "*Hebene*," merely its Anglicised forms. Secondly, both suggest a connection with the German *Eiben*, the Dutch *Ipen*, *Iben*, or *Hennen*, the Swedish *Eben*, the Norwegian and the Danish *Heben*—the Yew. The facts, that the Ebony is an innocuous nutriment-giving tree, and that, despite its blackness, no trace can be found in either ancient or modern times of its being in any way noxious to health, or other than useful medicinally, at once cast aside the supposition that Ebony was meant. But the Yew was accounted, from ancient times, the most deadly of poisons. With the omission of a phrase, afterwards to be more particularly referred to, I quote from Holland's Pliny, l. 16, c. x. p. 463—"The Yugh . . . it is to see to like the rest, but that it is not so green [of course he means

that it is of a sadder or less bright green], more slender also and smaller, unpleasent and fearefull to looke upon \* \* \* without any liquid substance at all: . . . the fruit of the male is hurtful: for the berries, in Spain especially, have in them a deadly poison. And found it hath been by experience, that in France, the wine bottles made thereof for wayfaring men and travellers, have poisoned and killed those that drunke out of them. *Sestius* saith . . . that in Arcadia it is so venomous that whosoever take either repose or repast under it, are sure to die presently [*i. e.* immediately]. And hereupon it cometh that those poisons wherewith arrow heads be invenomed, after some were called in times past Taxica which we now name *Toxica*." Cæsar tells us that a Gaulish king in his time poisoned himself with yew juice; and Virgil recommends that it be not planted near bees. Bartholome and Batman report similar things to Pliny, and in the "addition" Batman says, "Yew is altogether venomous and against man's nature." Bauhin (died 1624), giving a contemporary practice, says of impostors, "Qui morbos simulant pulv're Taxi adeo cutim ulcerant, ut miserabiles ac fere deplorati homines appareant." And Dioscorides *de lethalibus*, quoted by Bauhin, says, "[*Taxus*] frigiditatem totius corporis inducit suffocatione inque ac celerem morteni." Others of those times follow them, merely occasionally admixing a little more to the same effect, and occasionally a suggestion of the innocency of the berries, either always or at certain times. Other herb-eating animals were also supposed to escape the deadly effects produced on the Ruminants by the leaves and juice.

Thus the Yew was universally considered a most deadly poison. It remains to show that the Yew was considered an Hebenus or Hebenon. And first, it may be as well to show that Hebenum or Ebenus was applied in mediæval times to various trees. In the *Prompt. Parv.* the Awbell or ebelle tre [generally supposed to be the aspen] is Ebonus, or, according to another reading, Ebenus. The myrtillus of Crete was also called an Ebenus, and so was the West Indian Guiacum. Littré also gives the *Bignonia Leucoxylon* as one, and under the designation *Fausse Ebene*, the *Cytise Laburnum*, and the *Cytise des Alpes*. If now we look to the forms Eiben, Heben, &c., in the German, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish, these

names for the Yew seem also to have been derived from Ebenus. But whether this be the case or not, the mediaevals confounded the two, partly, it may be, from this similarity of name, partly from the statement of Theophrastus: "Taxum . . . eam quidem quem in Arcadia nasci nigro et puniceo, quæ in Monte Ida flavo atque cedro simili." Thus Val. Cordus, in his annotations on Dioscorides, 1551, says under Taxus, . . . "venenum est . . . Est autem Taxus arbor sine dubio ea quam nos ein Eiben vocamus, e cuius ligno adhuc arcus et scorpiones fiant, quos optimos ex Taxo fieri autores tradunt. Hi autem maximè errant qui Eiben Ebenum esse credunt, sola nominis similitudine decepti." And again under Ebenus, "Porro illi maximè errant qui Ebenum putant eam esse arborem, quæ a Germanis ein Eibe vocatur." So also Bauhin, referring to these passages, "Meritò eos notat Cordus, qui Ebenum putant eam esse arborem, quæ Germanis Ein Eyben (Taxus) vocatur." And in the margin he, speaking of the Taxus, has, "Ebus non est."

From these passages it is clear that the two trees had been, and apparently had been not uncommonly, confounded. Let us now inquire whether this confusion extended to England. In Marlowe's 'Jew of Malta' we have, in Act III., Hebon named with the direst poisons. Barabas, venting imprecations on his daughter whom he is about to poison, cries . . .

"In few, the blood of Hydra, Lerna's bane,  
The juice of hebon, and Cocytus breath,  
And all the poisons of the Stygian pool,  
Break from the fiery kingdom, and in this  
[the poisoned broth]  
Vomit your venom and envenom her."

Here hemlock, a much more potent poison than henbane, and opium are apparently omitted as too weak.

Spenser again has "heben" three times. The Introduction to the 'Faerie Queen' has

"Faire Venus sonne . . .  
Lay now thy deadly Heben bow apart  
And with thy mother mylde come to mine ayde;"

and here I would remark that *deadly* must be an epithet of "Heben"

and not of the “bow,” for neither was Cupid’s bow “deadly,” nor is there any thing in this Introduction to show that Spenser either thought or feigned to think it “deadly.” Again, in B. IV. c. vii. st. 52, describing Mammon’s garden as

“Of direfull deadly black, both leaf and bloom  
Fitt to adorne the dead, and deck the drery toombe,”

he continues,

“There mournfull Cypressse grew in greatest store,  
And trees of bitter gall, and Heben sad,”

where the epithet *sad* again almost identifies it with the Yew, this having been so-called since Pliny’s time, both from its dismal hue, and from its appropriation (perhaps from its hue and appearance) to churchyards. Thirdly, in B. II. c. viii. st. 17, Arthur is thus described :

“Till that they spyde where towards them did pace  
An armed knight, of bold and beauteous grace,  
Whose squire bore after him an heben launce  
And coverd shield.”

Not to speak of the absurdity of supposing that an English poet of classical education armed a Greek god and a British Prince with a bow and spear of Indian or Ethiopian wood, I would note that none could have been chosen by a soldier poet more unfit for a bow than Ebony from its brittleness and want of pliability, and none, from these qualities and its weight, more unfit for a lance. And, by the way, as to Heben being Henbane, think of Spenser making Cupid’s bow and Arthur’s spear of Henbane stalks. But what wood have we just heard is, and have always known to be, most fit for bows and other weapons, and what wood would necessarily at once recur to an Elizabethan Englishman, himself a man of war, but the yew? Each passage contains its own distinct proofs, and it is right to add that Aldis Wright had long ago, and I believe quite irrespective of this Hamlet argument, placed “yew” opposite “heben” in his copy of Spenser.

I now quote from a third Englishman who appears to give the same form to the yew, though perhaps a little corrupted by the

printer. In Dolarny's [J. Raynold's] 'Primerose,' 1606, p. 118 (Dr Grosart's reprint), he, speaking of the ancient Britons, says,

"Their weapons were of Ibeamie, witch, and thorne,  
Some had a skeane," &c.

Will the supporter of Hebenon as the equivalent of Ebony suppose that this author was so devoid of sense as to introduce an Indian wood, in his own time but little known in England, and depict the savages of these isles as making their rude weapons of witch and thorn, but firstly and mainly of Ebony? Do we not arrive almost by a train of exclusion or of exclusive reasoning that this can only be the yew, bearing in mind that for this yew neighbouring people used the same and similar words, and that the yew had been from that time to then the English weapon-making tree?

I now pass on to two rather curious coincidences. The 1603 quarto of Hamlet, that which, as I believe, Shakspere wrote in 1600, has "Ebony" simply. Holland's 'Pliny' was not published till that year, being entered in the Stat. Regs. on the 20th May, 1600. Shakspere, then a stroller in the country on account both of the inhibition and the success of the young eyasses, could hardly have seen so high-priced and bulky a volume. But by 1602, the date I take it of the version published in 1604, Shakspere was back in London, and had enlarged the play "to almost as much againe as it was." Now Holland had translated Pliny's Taxus, . . . tristis et dira, by "unpleasant and fearefull to looke upon, a *cursed* tree," he evidently remembering that it was not only sad in hue and deadly venomous, but, as it were, dedicated to death, and a tree of which, according to Statius, the torches of the Furies were made. Shakspere, then, in his 1602 version, used the phrase "*cursed* Hebenon." A second coincidence lies, I think, in the phrase, "it is against man's nature"—a sort of stock phrase found in Batman, and attributed by the dictionary writers, though, so far as I know, wrongly, to Pliny; so stock a phrase that we find in l'Ecluse "venemeux et contraire à la nature humaine." But we find in Shakspere this cursed Hebenon as one,

"whose effect  
Holds such an enmity with blood of man  
That," &c.

Let us now consider the effects of the two poisons, though on this, knowing so little of the reputed effects of the yew, one can speak less definitely than could be wished. The effect of the juice chosen by Shakspere was intended to be such as should be speedy and quiet, and such as should simulate those supposed to be produced by a serpent's bite. Death from this latter cause was held to be often preceded by patches on the skin. Hence Shakspere had to choose and describe a poison which should, in its reputed effects, produce some show of resemblance to this, or at least choose one whose effects were so unknown that he could ascribe such effects to it. Now of yew very little was reported except that it was most deadly. But the following may have given him the thought. Suetonius on Claudius, c. 16, says, that he set forth 20 edicts in one day, one being “*nihil æque facere, ad viperæ morsum quam Taxi arboris succum*;”<sup>1</sup> and he would have this further reason that it is a tree which affects cold and northern climates, and one therefore suitable to the scene, besides being more readily obtainable than a poison obtained from an apothecary or mountebank, and without danger of betrayal. There was some difference of opinion as to the action of yew. Besides producing fever, some said it produced also diarrhoea, and in Bauhin we find, “*Nos vero nullum fide dignum autorem legimus, qui scripserit Taxum vim adstrictoriam vehementer habere.*” Here we not improbably have the curdling, &c., spoken of by Shakspere, a corrupting of the blood which, according to the science of that day, produced leprous diseases. Also in J. Sylvester (‘The Furies,’ l. 180) we have “blood-boiling Yew,” a phrase which may refer to its fever-producing effects, but may also refer to its blood-curdling properties, since the effect of boiling is to solidify or, as we might say, to curdle the blood. More particularly as to the skin disease Barth. and Batman say, “The substance thereof [of the Yew] keepeth [Barth. servat] the evill that is called *Ignis Græcus* that it shall not quench as Dioscorides affirmeth and sayth.” I have not yet found the passage in Dioscorides, nor am I able to say what the Greek fire specifically

<sup>1</sup> I am aware that the “Farmers” will laugh at Shakspere consulting Suetonius, but if I have any knowledge of his character, he was not above asking questions of those better informed.

was; but it was a skin disease, and that was sufficient for Shakspere's purpose.

It remains to answer a question which must occur to every one in this nineteenth century: Why did Shakspere use "Hebenon" instead of the more common "yew"? First, Hebon and Heben were used by Marlowe and Spenser, his predecessors, while its use by Raynolds after 1602 shows that it was a not uncommon name, at least in poetry. Secondly, he not improbably used it because some doubts had been expressed as to the poisonous quality of the yew berry, which made it less expedient to use that word. Thirdly, I think that Shakspere was well acquainted with that old proverb and its advantages, "Omne ignotum pro miraculo—all that is unknown is wonderful."

In conclusion, I admit that I have not been able to give any one single and direct proof of the assertion that Hebenon is yew; but I would say that it has been shown that the only other hypotheses that have yet been advanced, 1. that it is henbane; 2. that it is Ebony, have neither of them a leg, not even a wooden one, to stand upon. And secondly, that my proposition is so far proved by the concurrence of probabilities, amounting at times to almost perfect proofs, that it can stand till more decisive proofs of some other Hebenon be found; and I would thus summarize my lines of argument:

- (a) That, anciently and mediævally, the yew was considered the most deadly poison known.
- (b) That the term Ebenus was mediævally applied to different trees, including the yew.
- (c) That the names of the yew in five languages still bear witness to the fact, that if it was not derived from Ebenus it led to its confusion with it.
- (d) That in English, Marlowe, Spenser, and Raynolds, used Heben in senses which can only be predicated of yew.
- (e) That in the epithets "cursed" and "at enmity with blood of man," Shakspere has but copied phrases contemporaneously applied to the Yew, and, so far as can be found, to no other tree.
- (f) That the effects of Hebenon do not at all tally with the

effects known or supposed of any other poison. But that to the Yew some similar effects were attributed, notably that of causing a skin disease, and that the real effects of yew were so little known that Shakspere could with impunity indulge in such latitude of description as suited his purpose.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I would add, that Shakspere's noting of the curdling of the blood may have been due, not to the "vis adstrictoria" attributed by some to the yew, but to some of the medical theories then prevalent as to the mode of production of skin diseases generally, or of some in particular.

It might also be worth observing, that the effects of yew are as little known now as then. It is generally believed that yew berries are innocuous, yet persons who come from yew-growing districts maintain the reverse, and cases are still reported, one in 1879, and I think in a 'Medical Journal,' where a child is reported to have died, after having eaten yew berries the day before. The question of their poisonous quality, as well as that of yew leaves, &c., &c., deserves investigation. [I have eaten the viscous flesh of some hundreds of ripe yew-berries in different autumns, and so have my wife and boy. We always have a feed on em.—F. J. F.]

*avoid, vb. get rid of. Troilus & Cress., II. ii. 65, "viii. sad and discreet persons . . . shall haue power and authority by vertue of this act, to appoint and assigne by their discretions the owners of the said fishgarths, stakes, piles, and other engins, to auoid and pull vp, or cause to be auoided, and pulled vp . . . such and as much of the said fishgarthes, piles, stakes, heckes, and other engines, which then by their discretions shall be thought expedient, meet, and conuenient to be auoyded and pulled vp." 1532. (Stat. 23 Hen. VIII., cap. 18, ed. Pulton, 1636, p. 526.)*

*habiliments of war, Richard II., I. iii. 28. Pioner, Hamlet, I. v. 163. "Be it enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, That if any person or persons, hauing at any time hereafter the charge or custody of any Armour, Ordnance, Munition, Shot, Powder, or habiliments of warre, of the Queens Maiesties, her heires or successors, or of any victuals prouided for the victualling of any Souldiers, Gunners, Mariners, or Pioners, shall, for any lucre or gaine, or wittingly, aduisedly, and of purpose, to hinder or impeach her Maiesties seruice, imbesill, purloyne, or conuey away any the same Armour, Ordnance, Munition, Shot, or Powder, habiliments of warre or victualls, to the value of twenty shillings at one or seuerall times: that then euery such offence shall be iudged felony, and the offendour and offendours therein to be tryed, proceeded on, and suffer as in case of felony." 1589. A° 31 Eliz. cap. iv. Pulton's Statutes, 1636, p. 1173.*

"*My foote my Tutor?*" (*The Tempest*, I. iv. 469). In *Notes and Queries* (5 Ser. xi. 363) was given an example of this expression from Homily 33, whence Shakspere may not improbably have drawn Prospero's phrase. I now give a second example from J. Day's *Ille of Guls*, 1606. Demetas says to his attendant—

“But gods me, *Manasses*, goe tell the Duke I must speake with him.

*Manas.* Presently Sir, [—*Aside*] Ile go fetch the head to give the foote a posset : ” Sig. B 2.

From these two examples, we may, I think, infer that this attacked phraseology was both understood and known.—*B. N.*

*Purchase*, v.t. obtain, get. *L. L. Lost*, III. 27. “That an oyle may be drawne or gotten out of any woodde: take the small chyppes of eyther the *Guiaucum*, the Pyne tree, the Ashe, or Iuniper tree, which ordered by two pottes, distyll after by discention [descent] (as afore was taught) or happily<sup>1</sup> as you know, and you shall purchase without double oyle abundantly”—*The newe Jewell of Health* . . . by that excellent Doctor *Gesnerus* . . . Faithfully corrected, and published in Englishe, by George Baker, Chirurgian . . . 1576. f. 167 vers.

Here it equals ‘obtain.’ It seems to me also the best example I know that the thieves’ cant ‘purchase’ is not a jocular modification of meaning, but a known usage applied to a particular use. A transitional use—of the noun ‘purchase’—is to be found in *Rich.* III., III. vii. 187, for both the speaker and subject forbid the supposition that it is there through thieves’ slang.—*B. N.*

*Purchase*, sb. getting, pursuit and acquisition. *Oth.*, II. iii. 9. The king’s daughters go in charge of Dametas to the king’s stag-hunt :—

“Dame. Sweet, Ladies, to save you the expence of much breath which must be laid out in the **purchase** of the game, I haue provided you this stand, from whence your eyes may be commauunders of the sporte.” J. Day. *The Ile of Guls*, 1606. Sig. C 2, v.—*B. N.*

*Putter out of 5 for 1.* The *Tempest*, III. iii. 48. (See Schmidt, *Shaksp. Lexicon*.)

“Gon[zalo]. Each **putter out of five for one**, will bring us good warrant of.” *Temp.*, III. iii. 48. Since Malone, most editors have adopted—“one for five.” Doubtless this latter is the correct and present mode of expressing Gonzalo’s meaning. But that the Folio form was the phraseology of Elizabethan times, seems shown by the following. Dametas, a king’s favourite, and covetous upstart in J. Day’s *Ile of Guls* (1606), counting his unhatched chickens, says—“Ile put out one million to use after the rate of seuen score to the hundreth<sup>2</sup>:” Sig. G 3. That is, he, the “putter out,” would in reality put out one hundred to be repaid at the rate of one hundred and forty.—*B. N.*

<sup>1</sup> This shows that the ‘happily’ of the ff noted and changed by some editors to ‘haply,’ when disyllabic (see Schmidt, i. 511, col. 2), is but a variant spelling, not an error.

<sup>2</sup> Just our ‘at the rate of 140 per cent.’ The only difficulty is in the old use of *of* (five for one) for ‘for, at the rate of:’ Each **putter out** [of money] for, at the rate of, 5 returnd for 1 lent. See Abbott’s instances of *of* = *for*, *Sh. Gram.* p. 115.—F.

### III. THE INCONSISTENCY OF THE TIME IN SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

BY EDWARD ROSE, ESQ.

*(Read at the 57th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Jan. 23, 1880.)*

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THIRTY years ago, Professor Wilson announced in ‘Blackwood’s Magazine’<sup>1</sup> an “astounding discovery” which he had made with regard to Shakspere’s treatment of the element of time in *Macbeth*, and, more particularly, in *Othello*. A Mr Halpin, about the same time, made the same discovery as to the *Merchant of Venice*, and published an essay on the subject which, though whimsical and inaccurate to a degree, yet pointed out important facts which before its publication had been overlooked.

Strangely enough, these contributions to Shakspere-criticism seem to have attracted but little attention, and until last year had borne, I believe, no fruit. At length, however, the method of examination applied by Wilson and Halpin to these three plays has been extended to all their fellows, both by Mr P. A. Daniel, in the *Transactions* of the New Shakspere Society, and by the Cowden Clarkes in their ‘Shakspere Key.’ Mr Daniel’s work is one of the highest value, as it gives accurately, and in a most clear and compact way, the time supposed to elapse from beginning to end, and from scene to scene, of every one of Shakspere’s plays; while the Cowden Clarkes—though less complete, and far less ingenious in their arrangement—have the advantage given by their scientific boldness in at once accepting a theory which converts a mass of disconnected and puzzling details into so many corroborative proofs of one brilliant and comprehensive scheme.

What this scheme was, and what proof we have that Shakspere followed it, I will presently show; but first a word or two upon the

<sup>1</sup> *Dies Boreales*, V, VI, VII (1849—50). *N. Sh.’s Trans.* 1875-6-7-9, Appx.  
N. S. SOC. TRANS., 1880-2.

importance of this element of time in plays—generally much underrated by literary critics, who have little knowledge of the actual stage.

Johnson says that he cannot tell whether Shakspere had ever heard of the famous “unities” of the theatre, so rigorously observed by the classical French dramatists; but adds, with his usual sturdy sense, that at all events our poet did very well without them. He easily shows the absurdity of confining the action of every play to four-and-twenty hours, its scene to one place; but I think he overlooks the genuine foundation in nature of the rules which had been narrowed into a conventional formality. If you can so carry on your action that, after the first demand upon the imagination of an audience—after they have agreed to suppose themselves, say, in Athens, two thousand years ago—they shall be no further reminded that what they are seeing is an artificial thing, this is well: every such interruption as a request to imagine that since the last scene a year has passed is sure to break for a while their flow of feeling. Take an extreme example: for the first three acts of the *Winter's Tale*, the whole play centres in Leontes—after the sixteen years' interval, who cares two pins about him?

Yet a story which should develope many incidents, and show the whole range of many characters, in one brief day, must almost always seem unlifelike and wanting in dignity. Years are needed to show the full nature of a Macbeth; months, at the least, the strength and weakness of a Lear. Nature will not be hurried to suit Corneille and Racine, will hardly dance in fetters even at the bidding of Molière. Both the classical and realistic systems, if rigorously interpreted, are defective: art is necessary, but its concealment is necessary also. Some middle course, if such could be found, would be a blessing to dramatists.

Shakspere found such a course, says Wilson: by accident, or otherwise. Impossible as it may seem, he used both systems at once, in the same play—though his unity of time had the sensible limit of a few days, not of the formal twenty-four hours. In *Othello*, Mr Daniel clearly shows us, the whole action is begun and ended in three days, with a brief interval for the voyage between Venice and Cyprus; and yet, Professor Wilson as clearly proves, there are a

hundred touches, allusions, and direct statements quite at variance with this, which show that the married life of Othello and Desdemona lasted for weeks, if not for months. And in *Macbeth* the case is almost stronger; the scenes are so connected that they can fill only nine days, with perhaps a brief day or so of marching between—and yet the whole of Macbeth's dreary reign of bloodshed is passed in review. Above all in the plays founded on English history is this noticeable: but of these hereafter.

This, then, was the discovery which Professor Wilson, not without reason, pronounced astounding: that in two of Shakspere's plays—and, we may now add, in practically all the rest—the notes of passing time are so conflicting, so absolutely irreconcilable, that it is easy to prove that a given tragedy covers only two or three days, while at the same time it contains passages which indicate unmistakably the lapse of months or years between its first scene and its last. This double-time system, as Wilson calls it, is so bold a cutting of the Gordian knot, a solution of the opposing difficulties of the classical and realistic rules, that one cannot wonder at his hesitation in accepting it as intentional on Shakspere's part—*when there were but two plays for him to argue from*. When, however, one finds the same plan carried out, more or less fully as there was more or less need for it, in every tragedy, comedy, and history written by Shakspere—with the natural and logical exception of the five hours' farce, the *Comedy of Errors*—the case is altered.

And thus carried out it is, as the details collected by Mr Daniel have proved to us. In the comedies, almost every scene is connected with that which follows, either by immediate consecution of time, or by some such statement in the former scene as “*To-morrow we will meet*,” or, in the latter, as “*The business we talked on yesterday*”—such indications of time forming what Halpin calls the “accelerating series,” Wilson the “short time” notes. Yet there are also always some signs of a “protractive series,” some notes of “long time;” though these—as is natural in the slight framework of comedy—are only sufficient to give some lifelikeness, some reality, to the story. Still, in the *Merchant of Venice*, we are carried on as if by magic from end to end, with no conscious pause or lapse of time, and never-

theless in our day or two at Belmont three months have glided by. It is like the old fairy legend of the man who spent a day in an enchanted island, and came back to find his children grandfathers.

And this illustration, as I implied, is fulfilled even better by the tragedies. There the hurry of passion is needed to sweep us along—one must not have days and weeks for purposes to cool in—and yet one needs the historic breadth of time, and months and years for the growth and change of character. Murder must eat into the nature of the murderer, ingratitude break down a powerful mind: and this is true above all in Shakspere, who seems to set before us a whole man, and his whole life, rather than the few "sensational" scenes of his career pulled together by main force. We are conscious of no gaps, we do not seem to have missed anything: yet the scenes have rushed by on the swift wings of hours, not with the tardy pace of years.

But for the histories—how is it with them? When I took up this subject, as undecided about it as Wilson left his hearers, I must confess that I looked for proofs almost entirely to the tragedies. Comedy-plots, as I have said, seldom need any breadth of time; and in histories it would seem that all one could ask of the dramatist must be a series of striking scenes, connected chiefly by the presence of some principal character in most of them, and by our knowledge of the events narrated or implied.

To my astonishment, it was in Shakspere's histories that I found the proof, which appears to me irrefutable, of his consistent employment of a system of double time. The one element which gives coherency to the unparalleled series of plays in which he has dramatised his country's history is a rough unity of time—a connection which carries us on, with hardly a break, from scene to scene, and act to act, not merely through entire plays, but through a body of consecutive and united histories, which in effect form but one vast drama in forty acts.

From *Richard II.* to the end of *Richard III.* eighty-seven years pass away—nearly a century of our country's life is set bodily before us, with a completeness approaching that of Holinshed or Hall: a feat absolutely without precedent upon the stage—never before or since attempted—almost, one would have thought, an impossibility.

The eight plays—*Richard II.*, Parts 1 and 2 of *Henry IV.*, *Henry V.*, Parts 1, 2, and 3 of *Henry VI.*, and *Richard III.*—form a series, too uninterrupted to be an accidental one. I do not mean that when the first of them, whichever it was, was written, all the others were foreseen; but that the later ones were fitted on to the earlier, so that they carried on the story without intermission—in each play it is either taken up exactly where it left off, or the brief intervening period is accounted for in the first lines of the first scene. *Richard II.* ends with Henry's announcement of his intention to go to the Holy Land; as the curtain rises on *Henry IV.* he repeats it, with the acknowledgment that he has been delayed a twelvemonth in carrying it out. This play ends with Henry V.'s coronation and first gracious deeds: the next begins with a recapitulation of them, and then shows the young king promptly acting on his father's dying advice, to distract the nation from home troubles by wars abroad. The chorus which concludes *Henry V.* announces that at his death he left his son imperial lord of France; the first scene of *Henry VI.* shows us his funeral. The three parts of this play over, we proceed without the briefest intermission to *Richard III.*: and the connection between the two pieces is so curious, and the whole of the last-named play so striking an example of the double-time system, that I cannot better illustrate my theory than by citing them, and giving all the notes of long and short time throughout *Richard III.*—very often in Mr Daniel's words.

“The connection of this with the preceding play,” he says, “in point of time is singularly elastic: not a single day intervenes, yet years must be supposed to have elapsed. The murder of Henry VI. is but two days old—his unburied corse bleeds afresh in the presence of the murderer; yet the battle of Tewkesbury took place three months ago”—(let me point out that Shakspere made Henry's murder take place on the night after this battle)—“and, stranger still, King Edward's eldest son and only child, an infant in the nurse's arms in the last scene of the former play, is now a promising youth, with a forward younger brother, and a marriageable sister older than them both. Time, however, has stood still with the chief *drumatis personæ*, and they now step forward on the new scene in

much the same relative positions to each other as when in the last play the curtain fell between them and their audience."

This sounds exceedingly absurd, thus stated in a dozen lines: as Shakspere has presented it, the inconsistencies artfully creeping in, separated by many scenes and much action, the effect is very different. Inconsistency No I. does not make its appearance till the play is two long scenes old: when Richard, after winning the Lady Anne beside Henry's coffin, says that he stabbed her husband three months ago at Tewkesbury. Supposing even that the audience had seen *Henry VI.* played only the day before: who among them could so turn back his memory as to recollect that, three scenes before the end of that play, Richard had left the field of Tewkesbury, his brother had guessed that he would reach London in time "to make a bloody supper in the Tower," that he had actually done so, and this same night (it would seem) had killed King Henry, that Edward's coronation and disposal of his enemies and friends at the end of the war had followed at once upon this—all being shown bodily to the audience—that Richard's plots and Clarence's arrest apparently had place the next day, and were followed without more than a few hours' pause by Henry's burial and Richard's long and successful pleading with Lady Anne? It is true that we readers, examining the play line by line, find how event has followed event with the intermission only of a day or two: but what spectator would not feel that all these incidents must needs have taken time—would not instinctively allot them, at the least, the interval mentioned by Richard: though the brilliant scene just ended would doubtless have so carried him away as to prevent his giving the slightest scrutiny to a passing chronological statement?

The rapid growth in years and number of King Edward's family—"stranger still" though it seem to the analyst of dramatic time—is still less noticeable to the ordinary theatre-goer. It is not till the very end of two exceedingly long acts, crammed with such incidents as the murder of Clarence and the death of the king himself, that the youngest of the children, the little Duke of York, is introduced: and even his coming is preluded, some scenes before, by the introduction of two children of Clarence, so that the audience is used to

seeing this generation of the house of York upon the stage. At the beginning of the next Act appears the young Prince of Wales, who has not been seen at all during this play, and is only recollected by spectators of the former play as a child in arms at the beginning of the reign of Edward IV., which reign is now ended. As for the marriageable daughter, she does not appear at all, and her hand is only asked of her mother by Richard in the fourth scene of the fourth Act—when so many of her family have died that she really might be any age.

Thus these facts, whose occurrence yet makes the audience feel that some long time is elapsing, produce their effect imperceptibly: nothing is lost, while so much is gained by the unceasing rapidity of the action. How great this is I have partly shown. Henry, murdered before the end of the play which bears his name, is not buried till scene ii. of *Richard III.* finishes. In the first scene, Gloucester says that "Clarence has not another day to live," and his murder ends the Act, whose five scenes are thus inferentially compressed into four-and-twenty hours; while scene iii. is still more directly connected with its predecessors by the entrance of the queen lamenting her husband's illness, already dwelt upon. This scene iii. is ended by the queen and her friends going to the king, while Richard despatches the murderers to dispose of Clarence: as, in scene iv., they do, and end the Act. There is no break, however, for Act II. begins with the interview between the king, the queen, and her partisans, already spoken of: as the curtain rises Edward has just effected a reconciliation between Rivers and Hastings—and this by no means easy task (he calls it "a good day's work") has just given reasonable time for the murder we have witnessed, the news of which is brought during the scene by Gloucester. The king goes, very ill; and in the next scene—the second of Act II.—we are informed of his death; and it is decided that the young Prince of Wales shall be immediately fetched from Ludlow to be crowned king. "It would be possible," says Mr Daniel, "to assign a separate day to this scene, and suppose it the Morrow of the three preceding scenes: later than the Morrow it can hardly be"—but it seems more likely that it was the same day; and scene iii. is evidently the next morning—it shows

us some citizens discussing the news of the king's death, which is so recent that it is not even known to be certain.

And then Mr Daniel allows an interval for the journey to Ludlow, as in the next scene (which is laid in Westminster) we are told that the Prince of Wales has been fetched and is coming to London ; but here let me point out that, though of course a journey always implies an interval—and often, in these pre-railway days, a pretty long one—Shakspere, so careful to connect his scenes, never holds a journey to be an interval in the sense of a break or interruption to the story. More, instead of *dividing* scenes by a journey, he may be said to *join* them by it ; and this quite logically. If in scene i. we are in London, and a merchant says he must go to York on business, and in scene ii. we are at a hostelry in York, and, after a little talk between grooms and tapsters, our merchant comes in and asks for a room, we say, “ Ah ! he said he was coming ”—and a feeling of continuity is established, not severed. The rapid progression of Shakspere's plays is thus aided by the movements of his people, although in exactly analysing their time we are obliged apparently to lengthen it by allowing every now and then an “ interval for journey.”

To resume : the Prince of Wales is coming to London, and probably next day, possibly the day after, he arrives : and this begins Act III. During scene i. it is announced that Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan are to be executed at Pomfret Castle *to-morrow*—thus giving us the date of scene iii., wherein the execution takes place. Shakspere is always talking about *to-morrow*, or *in three days*, or *on Thursday*, or *the next Sabbath* : thus connecting his scenes, and giving them a great air of reality and definiteness. I think it might be proved that he mentions the days of the week more than all other dramatists together, who let time slip by in some vague stagey manner, and always make events happen on no particular day of the week, and arrange future meetings between their characters at such shadowy dates as “ anon ” or “ another time.” It is thus that Shakspere's times are often impossible, but improbable, scarcely ever ; and audiences which might be annoyed by improbabilities do not suspect impossibilities.

To-morrow, then, is the date of scene iii., and *a fortiori* of scene

ii., in which we are shown Buckingham and Hastings on their way to a council at the Tower; which council occupies scene iv., and results in the condemnation of Hastings to instant death—death before the Duke of Gloucester's dinner! Skipping to scene vi., we find that in it Hastings has been dead not five hours: which of course establishes the time of the intervening scene v., and this is in its turn connected with scene vii. by an appointment for a meeting at Baynard's Castle (where the latter scene passes) to take place on the current day. And “to-morrow,” as usual, is here appointed for the next important event, the coronation of Richard.

The next Act begins, then, on what we find to be the seventh day which we have accounted for since the beginning of the play: Richard is crowned, not a week—could but the audience keep count of it—after Henry's burial! Yet history says that Edward had reigned twelve years; and I dare say most spectators would readily believe that these had elapsed in the troublous time since the end of the last play. With regard to the actual scene now before us—the first of Act IV.—a difficulty has been raised which was perhaps hardly worth raising. Anne of Gloucester leads in Margaret Plantagenet, her niece and Clarence's young daughter: whom in the next scene Richard proposes to get rid of by marrying her to some mean-born gentleman, a match which he makes up by scene iii. Considering that the “young daughter” might have been twelve or thirteen, and that for state reasons marriages were often made at such an age, I think that this is scarcely a point worth dwelling upon.

In this first scene of Act IV. Dorset flees to join the Earl of Richmond in Brittany, and in the second the news of this flight is brought to Richard; they are thus immediately connected. In the former is the earliest intimation we have of the marriage of Anne with Richard, though she speaks of it with the weariness and horror of a some time wedded wife; in the latter he spreads a rumour of her illness, and in the very next scene announces that “Anne, my wife, hath bid the world good-night.” This is short time with a vengeance! In scenes ii. and iii. also is plotted and carried out without a day's delay the murder of the princes in the Tower; though a touch of longer time is given by the pretty incident of Dighton and Forrest finding the children in bed.

And long time with a vengeance we have also in these same scenes : for at the end of scene ii. Buckingham determines to flee from London, and by the end of the consecutive scene iii. we find that he has got to Wales, has raised an army, “is in the field, and still his power increaseth !” With “fiery expedition” Richard rushes out to get his men together, and in the next scene appears before the Tower with them

And here—in Act IV., scene iv.—is repeated an indication of long time which I might have noticed on its first appearance, were it not difficult to say when that is. Queen Margaret, widow of Henry VI., appears : a “foul, wrinkled witch,” we are told, a “withered hag,” even in the early part of the play (Act I., scene iii.). Yet, as I have said, the Second and Third Parts of *Henry VI.* and *Richard III.* are all immediately consecutive ; and the very longest time which Mr. Daniel can make out for the Second Part of *Henry VI.* is, “at the outside, a couple of years”—for the Third Part, “say a twelve-month”—and for Act I. of *Richard* a day, or three months, whichever you prefer : in all, but little over three years. Yet at the beginning of that Second Part she was Henry’s young and lovely bride ; and the audience, looking upon her now, quite feels that thirty years have passed since then, and is blissfully ignorant of their compression.

The important events of this fourth scene of Act IV. are Richard’s cajoling the queen into the promise of her daughter’s hand, and the rapid arrival of a succession of messengers with the news that Richmond’s fleet is on the western coast, that the Courneys are in arms, that Buckingham’s army is dispersed by sudden floods, that there is a rising in Yorkshire, that Richmond’s fleet is dispersed by tempest, and himself *en route* for Brittany, that Buckingham is taken, and, lastly, that Richmond has landed at Milford. Richard starts without a moment’s delay for Salisbury. Then comes a brief scene of twenty lines, which appears to be on the same day ; and the next, and last, Act opens at Salisbury, whither Richard has gone, as he said. These scenes are therefore connected by the journey ; and the next scene is joined to them, though more loosely, by the statement that Richard has now reached Leicester. Thither Richmond starts

with his army, announcing that it is but one day's march ; and as the next scene is laid about half-way—that is to say, at Bosworth Field—we may presume that it takes place on the same day. Thence-forward we are carried almost hour by hour through the night, to that morrow on which the Battle of Bosworth Field ends Richard's reign and life.

We have thus seen how the whole play is linked together, generally by definite statements of time, and brought into the compass of a few days : a small number of the scenes contain no precise note of time, but it is made quite clear that the intervals between them are extremely short, or they are, as I have pointed out, connected by journeys. This is the "short-time" of the play ; the "long-time" is indicated in every scene. We pass through two reigns, those of Edward and Richard, and each lasts sufficiently long for the monarch's character to become familiar to his subjects. Buckingham speaks to the citizens of their late king as one who had become notorious for his idle and luxurious habits ; Gloucester, he says—

" Is not an Edward.  
He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed,  
But on his knees at meditation ;  
Not dallying with a brace of courtesans," &c.

And while Gloucester points out Edward's continual vices yet more clearly in the last Act Richmond speaks of Richard as notoriously a hated tyrant, as indeed is proved by the facility with which risings against him are got up all over the country. Indeed, as in *Macbeth*, history is given, if not ample, yet reasonable time to pass along with dignity, despite the way in which dinners and suppers, rising and going to bed, the ordinary landmarks of common life, link together the days and nights of the workers of history.

Having analysed the time of this one play in great detail, I will pass at once to that of the series which it concludes : the eight histories covering the period from 1398 to 1485. Of these eighty-seven years, the intervals between the plays, as accounted for in the opening lines of *Henry IV.*, Part 1, of *Henry V.*, and of *Henry VI.*, Part 1, amount to about four. Thus eighty-three years are actually dramatised ; and, taking into account all the indications of long-time

—of the passing of reigns, the rise and fall of rival parties—the spectator is made to feel that this great period does pass before him: that he does not see a few bits of it, but the whole. Yet so continuously are the scenes throughout interwoven that, taking all the indications of short time, every connecting link of day and hour, the most careful reader will find these half-a dozen reigns compressed in some marvellous way into some four years and two months:<sup>1</sup> while if an intelligent spectator were asked, as the series of plays went along, his estimate of the length of each inter-scene (to coin a term), and these estimates were added together, they could not allow that the eighty-three years of History had occupied more than seventeen stage-months!

Surely we may quote Wilson again, and call this an astounding discovery; and surely we may look upon one doubt of his as solved. This double treatment of time is so constant, it is a means to so evident an end, that, be it true art or illegitimate trickery, it is at all events not accident. Had we, like Wilson, but a couple of plays to argue from, we could pronounce no opinion; but when an audience at the Globe playhouse is carried with an admirable lightness and dexterity from end to end of all but a century, and only twice or thrice, between plays, is allowed to see a year pass by; when like a series of dissolving views days melt into days, and a magician makes us unconsciously believe them to be years, or groups of years, we may

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Mr Daniel. He gives as the “outside dramatic time” of

Part 1 *Henry IV.*, 3 months.

Part 2 *Henry IV.*, 2 months.

Part 2 *Henry VI.*, 2 years (quite a year too much, I think).

Part 3 *Henry VI.*, 1 year.

*Richard III.*, 1 month.

(Of *Richard II.*, *Henry V.*, and Part 1 *Henry VI.*, he says that he cannot attempt to determine the length of some of the intervals; but this is because he cannot reconcile himself to the fact that inconsistencies will be inconsistent. When—as in the brief Welsh campaign in *Richard II.*—scenes obviously follow each other closely, one may safely set down a rough estimate of the “short time” of the few indeterminate intervals. Working thus, we get—)

*Richard II.*, 40 days.

*Henry V.*, 5½ months (4½ between Acts IV. and V.).

Part 1 *Henry VI.*, 6 weeks.

Total in eight plays, about 4 years and 2 months.

safely swear that the trick implies a trickster—that accident could never account for such extraordinary, and, dramatically speaking, such admirable results. And, for carelessness—what man was ever, throughout a long series of works of art, a gainer by his own want of care?<sup>1</sup>

And it is very noticeable—to descend again from the whole to its parts—how if we take any single play it carries out our view. If it has a close and simple story, readily lending itself to stage purposes, there is little call for the employment of double-time; and accordingly we find little of it. But when a scarcely dramatic plot has been used, we find the playwright's resources strained to the utmost to fit it for the stage. Take the most difficult problem ever set to Shakspere: it is solved by the most extraordinary employment of double-time. He had to dramatise *Henry IV.*: a reign containing nothing but a series of unsuccessful and unremarkable rebellions. True, the real object of the play is to show the youth of Prince Hal; but as it is named *Henry IV.*, and is fitted in exactly to its place in the series, Shakspere had to treat it as a history of the reign. To bind together its straggling scenes of risings and of battles, of Hotspur and Glendower, he has set them in a comedy: but this comedy has no elaborate (and necessarily fictitious) plot, is itself merely a succession of scenes illustrating the youth of Henry V., bound together almost solely by the closest continuity of time—we follow Falstaff and Hal from morning till night, almost from hour to hour.

Here is contradiction indeed. These connected scenes are alternated with—or say rather they frame, or brace together—historical scenes parted by weeks at the least. Thus, in the First Part of *Henry IV.*, between scene iii. of the first Act and scene iii. of the third, the affairs of Hotspur, Worcester, and the rest demand at least three or four weeks of interval; but the two scenes are in a Falstaffian framework, and from his Act I. scene ii., which precedes, to his Act II. scene iv., which follows them, the details of the Gadshill robbery prove

<sup>1</sup> It may be as well to mention that it has been suggested that the inconsistencies of *Othello*—and, I suppose, of some thirty other plays—are not due to the author, but are owing to their “corruption and mutilation for stage-purposes.” (New Shakspere Society's *Transactions*, 1877-9, p. 231.) I think this theory may quite safely be left unrefuted.

beyond question that not more than a day and a half elapsed. Thus three or four weeks are surrounded, are embraced, by thirty-six hours; and if Shakspere did not see the impossibility of this his powers of accurate observation must have been much over-rated—especially as the system is carried through the whole play (except where now and then Falstaff merges into the main action), and its result is the dramatisation of an utterly undramatic reign.

But, if an expert dramatist can thus overcome difficulties, he also sees them where to the uninstructed none appear. Shakspere dreaded a gap of time: he had not a printed playbill and elaborate scenery to help him to tell his story, and he strongly objected to making his characters enter and say to each other, “What, friend! It is just two years since last we met. As you are well aware, King Edward has died in that period, and, as you also know, Richard has come to the throne”—and so forth. Thus it is not merely in the *Winter's Tale*, with a gap of sixteen years, that he feels obliged to drop the dramatic form and come forward to apologise personally for the break in his story: even in such a case as *Henry V.* he saw the constant breaks between the really dramatic parts, and brought in a chorus to account for the pauses. Professor Delius has pointed out the art with which Shakspere uses the narrative method when it is preferable to the dramatic; and from this employment of its extreme form we may deduce his exceeding dislike to obvious intervals.

Before leaving the Histories, let me point out how curiously a double-time test would confirm the others which have been applied to *Henry VIII.* This play is cut up—not to say ruined—by three indeterminate intervals in its action: after Act III. scenes i. and ii., and Act IV. scene ii.; and all these are due to Fletcher, taking the customary division of work between him and Shakspere; the moment we get the latter back—in the first scene of Act V.—he is at his usual links of time: “to-morrow morning,” he tells us, the next scene—Cranmer’s appearance before the Council—is to be.

Through the Tragedies I will not go; each shows the system, as a reference to Mr Daniel’s facts—or, still better, to their grouping by the Cowden Clarkes—will prove; but no examples could be stronger than those chosen by Wilson (*Othello* and *Macbeth*), and these it

would be presumption to touch after him. Especially fine is the way in which he proves, in his last paper on the subject, the impossibility of making *Othello* consistent in point of time, without entirely reconstructing, rewriting, and—may we not say ?—ruining it.

In the Comedies, as brevity is the soul of wit, long-time is far less necessary than short ; accordingly we find that in nearly all of them—I do not count romantic dramas, comedies only in name, such as the *Winter's Tale*—the action hardly pauses from end to end. Yet it is by double-time that elaborate stories like the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* are made to conform to this rapid flow : that, as has been said, Shylock's bond does not keep Portia's love a-waiting : that a touch of dignity is given, a feeling of hurry removed, in the wooing of Ferdinand and Miranda (*Tempest*, Act III. sc. i. l. 33) : and that, while we are made to feel that all the story of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* is indeed but a vision of a single night—for Act V. is mere epilogue and not story—yet a sort of restfulness, a dreamy stateliness, is in those lines of Hippolyta—

“ Four days will quickly steep themselves in night ;  
Four nights will quickly dream away the time ;  
And then the moon, like to a silver bow  
New-bent in heaven, shall behold the night  
Of our solemnities.”

The Amazon maiden could not have spoken thus of *one* day.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Comedy of Errors*, and, naturally enough, in a few other plays, there are real undeniable mistakes, which serve no possible purpose, and can be nothing in the world but slips of memory. The Abbess, in the play just named, says that her twin-sons are thirty-two years old : they are demonstrably only twenty-five. But these things, I think, prove little or nothing. Like all other writers, Shakspere made mistakes sometimes—but probably not oftener than most others, if we disallow as mistakes those inconsistencies which cannot be remedied without loss.

Indeed, I may go further than this. I will venture to say that

<sup>1</sup> In *As You Like It*, as once or twice elsewhere, Shakspere has availed himself—Mr Daniel points out—of the novelist's privilege of actually going back in time, to knit up some thread left loose by the progress of the main story. The expedient seems allowable enough, once in a way, if delicately done.

Shakspeare was remarkably and exceptionally careful in the construction of his plays—more careful even than the great “stage poet,” Massinger—although he doubtless acted on Shenstone’s golden rule of “Deliberate conception : rapid execution.” How the opposite opinion ever got about it is difficult to say: the foolish statement that he “never blotted a line” is flatly contradicted by, for example, the two versions we possess of the Player King’s speech in *Hamlet*—the second deliberately made stilted and turgid to give a stagey effect to the play within a play.

For the thing is evident. Shakspeare was no prodigy, no *lusus naturæ*, no commonplace man with an abnormal gift of writing plays. Leaving out their stage-qualities, his works prove him to have been a man of immense intellectual power, an unrivalled observer who remembered everything—except, according to some critics, the scenes he was for the moment writing—and who had a considerable knowledge of almost every trade and profession. His position was soon a free one: for, whether or no the story be true that Southampton gave him once a thousand pounds—equal to ten thousand of our money—he plainly had a patron who could have procured him, while yet a young man, a fair start in any line of life. Yet this great man thought it worth his while to give his very best work to the drama: and are we to assume that this very best work consisted in every now and then sitting down for a few hours and dashing off a play, without preliminary thought or after-revision? It is not thus *King Lear* are written.

For the drama is absolutely *the* most difficult form of art—though most people think it the easiest. A great poet and a great stage-mechanician combined are of all things the rarest: so there are fewer good plays than good pictures, good pieces of music, or even good cathedrals. Yet how the masters of other arts have worked—feeling that though hard work is not genius, it is a necessary part of it: look at Beethoven’s enormous knowledge of counterpoint, Raffaelle’s ceaseless study of anatomy. Those men only achieve great results who accept the primitive curse, who labour with the sweat of their brow; and I protest against thrusting Shakspeare from the noble army of workers.

His very imagination made careful prevision all the more necessary to him : for he saw his characters so vividly, they were such real men and women, that had he not planned out their course most strictly beforehand he would have shown too much of their lives—not merely those incidents necessary to his play. Yet nothing is more remarkable in Shakspere than this conciseness and completeness of construction : every succeeding scene is a distinct step onwards in the plot.

And, if we want to be sure of Shakspere's method of work, we cannot do better than look at him actually in the workshop : not creating beings of his own, but improving, dovetailing together, planing down, or filling out other men's faulty work : adapting old plays, that is, and putting any amount of honest toil into the business. Take *King John* or the *Taming of the Shrew* : it is a constant delight to compare them, scene by scene, with their originals—to note the unceasing thoughtfulness, ingenuity, and technical skill of the alterations. Shakspere was not above his business, and he felt—if I may parody George Herbert—that God might be served in arranging the exit of a super. Take a very small example. In reading the old *Troublesome Raigne of King John* it struck me that after the first scene, when all the English characters had gone off and the French came on, the audience must be puzzled, for the first dozen lines or so, to know where they were and whom they had before them. It was a small enough matter, and the uncertainty would not last very long ; yet I thought I would see whether Shakspere was more or less careful in such things. I found that in his *King John* the very first line spoken on the entry of the French was this :

“ Before Angiers well met, brave Austria ! ”

In six words the place and person were set before the audience !

Again, look at not only Shakspere's merits, but his faults—and they are plenty. Produce me one unquestionable blemish that is the result of carelessness, and I will bring you a hundred that come from over-care. The painful piling-up of rhetorical effects in his earlier tragedy (as the cursing scenes in *Richard III.*), the laboured and ponderous lines of his last period (as Leontes' manifestly slowly-written speeches)—these are not the flow of a natural and unforced

genius, the rush of inspiration : we could heartily wish that they were, but that their very badness proves Shakspere's humanity, shows us the man at work behind the fictitious creatures of his imagination.

And Shakspere was like other men—very like them—only better. Others had to some extent used this double-time system,<sup>1</sup> but not so systematically: not so constantly, that is, and above all not so boldly. In the old play of *King John* just spoken of the scenes follow pretty closely, and months slip away behind days in defiance of logic and the calendar; but it is much more difficult to bring the author to book—he shirks Shakspere's bold “to-morrows” and “next Thursdays,” and prefers little slippery intervals of time. For example, at the end of the scenes in France John hints to Hubert—in a couple of lines—that he would like Arthur got rid of: and this hint carries on the story to the subsequent scenes of Hubert and Arthur in England. But Shakspere is not satisfied with this; he expands the hint into a long scene, so explicit that we feel that its connection with the attempted murder must be one of day and day. And between Marlowe's *Edward II.* and Shakspere's Histories a like difference is to be found.

Now, in the abstract, does not the non-Shaksporean plan sound the better? It combines the classical and realistic systems; it gives us long-time and short; and it hardly shocks even the most careful reader. If we are to cheat, why not cheat in this delicate and gentlemanly manner?

For this reason. If inconsistency be not art, this is not art. It is cheating, like the other; and the gain is incomparably less. Shakspere's bold and familiar use of time is wonderfully strong, life-like, and unstagey: more easily detected by readers it is, but then—he wrote for hearers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For example, it is now generally held that Part 1 *Henry VI.*, in which it is freely used, is not Shakspere's.

<sup>2</sup> How unsatisfactory in practice is the system of leaving the intervals between scenes or acts quite indeterminate, is well shown in Mr Wills's tragedy of *Charles I.* The characters are firmly drawn, the dialogue is excellent, each Act is interesting in itself: but there are no links of time between the scenes, and the result is that you feel you have had four detached scenes of considerable merit, but not a play, nor anything like a play.

Yet in one other dramatist I have found an example of double-time as strong as any quoted here : Lope de Vega uses it so glaringly that the audience must, I think, have detected it—and this of course is bad art. In *El Anzuelo de Fenisa* the second Act ends with a Spaniard leaving Palermo for his home at Valencia ; the first scene of Act III. carries on, still at Palermo, the underplot of the play, with no break of time ; yet as it ends the arrival of foreigners in the port is announced, and the next scene shows us among them our Spaniard returned after what he describes as a long voyage back from Valencia—which of course implies an equally long one there—and a stay at home of some duration : in all some two or three months of interval, compressed by the underplot into a day.

Thus, as Emerson pointed out, Shakspere originated little ; but he collected and improved the ideas of others—he had the selective faculty (an eminently conscious one) in a very high degree. This is, above all, a characteristic of the artist-nature ; and the artist has a right to claim—as the man of science may not—that he be judged from his own point of view, under his own conditions. Examine an immense altarpiece microscopically, as you would a Meissonier, and it is a chaos of daubs and splashes ; put your ear to the big drum, and the Pastoral Symphony will appear considerably out of proportion. Even Beethoven only saw that there was *something* in the Hunter's Chorus of *Der Freischutz*—not hearing it, he could not say what : an ordinary deaf reader of music would probably have denied the something. So Shakspere chose to be heard and not read, wrote his works to that end solely, and, as I have said, never published a play—possibly not wishing his devices to be found out. In what he did publish, his Poems, we find the reader fully consulted ; and, had he condescended to those hybrid monstrosities, plays for the study, he would doubtless have made them as perfect as such things can of their nature be. Do let us, then, I repeat, treat him neither as a demigod nor an inspired idiot, but as an intelligent artist who claims to be judged from a given point of view, and whose claim we have no right to disallow.

And of this point of view one final word. Inconsistency, perhaps not without a place in other arts, is the very life and soul of

the drama. Take the beginning : take the end. In the nursery, as Professor Wilson says, papa pretends to be a lion : growls horribly : goes on four paws. The child is frightened—so genuinely, that prolong the deception but a few minutes, and he howls and will not be appeased—and yet this fright is an intense enjoyment to him. He knows that papa at once is and is not a terrible beast. And in the noblest tragedy we are moved to real sorrow, we weep real tears : yet our feeling is of the keenest pleasure, and we go again with delight to see this actor who has made us so unhappy.

Thus with the art of stage-construction : it suggests reality, but above all things avoids it. Events, conversation, must appear probable and life-like : but the prolixity, the repetitions, of real life, would make them unendurable. All stage-management depends on this principle : an eminent comic actor said to me the other day, “In a dark scene I always have the lights nearly up : the author says, ‘Oh, but it’s supposed to be dark’—I say, ‘If it *is* dark they can’t see my face.’”

He was perfectly right. Lower your lights for a moment, then gradually raise them. The audience have imagination : they will see that, as the author said, it is supposed to be dark—and they *will* suppose it : and meanwhile what is important is that the actor has not lost the use of his chief means of expression. Just the same with a stage “aside ;” it is so spoken that the other personages on the stage must hear it, or the audience could not—yet the audience perfectly accept it as heard only by themselves.

And, last of all, to put aside the stage, is not this disregard of logical correctness in favour of strong working qualities another instance of Shakspere’s eminently English nature ? How it horrified Voltaire : how impossible it was to Corneille : yet how inartistic and improbable are the plays of both beside Shakspere’s. His drama is like our English laws—contradictory, if closely examined chaotic, full of faults—yet resulting in the fairest administration of justice yet known : like our revolutions, illogical, not formulated demands for equality and fraternity, yet achieving an ever-increasing liberty : like the vast body of our poetry, heterogeneous, unbound by academic laws, ranging from sturdy common sense to a noble wildness, but as a whole unparalleled and unequalled in the world’s literature.

## IV. SHAKSPERE AND SEA-GLASSES.

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

*(Read at the 59th Meeting of the Society, Friday, March 12, 1880.)*

At a meeting last session I ventured to dissent from the view that the seaman's glass in the *Tempest* was of an hour's duration. This dissent was founded on three considerations :—that the customs of the sea are unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians ; that the seaman's glasses of the present day, like the bells that betoken them, mark half-hours ; and that Shakspere, as shown especially by the first scene of the *Tempest*, seems to have been unusually conversant with nautical matters. After referring, however, to the well-known passage in *All's Well*, Act II. sc. i. ll. 159—164, the latter part of which runs—

Or four and twenty times the pilot's glass  
Hath told the thievish minutes how they pass,

I retracted my opinion, saying that either the sea custom had altered, or Shakspere was wrong in a technology, in which one is, according to my experience, more apt to make a mistake than in any other.

As it seemed worth while to pursue the subject, I consulted 'The Seaman's Grammar,' by Capt. John Smith, Governor of Virginia, which he published in 1627, within about three years of his death. In ch. ix. p. 38 are these words—"or each squadron [*i. e.* party or half the crew] for eight Glasses or foure houres which is a watch." I quote from the first edition, and also from the second and third. These latter were published in 1653 and 1692, and though the last is stated to be "Now much Amplified and Enlarged . . . by . . . several experienced Navigators and Gunners," the three are identical and run page for page up to the end of ch. xiii. p. 63. It is, of course,

true that 1627 is after Shakspere's date; but Smith went to sea in 1603 or earlier, and, not to speak of the improbability and almost impossibility of such a change in those non-changing times in a profession least of all given to it, it is a certainty that if so important an alteration had occurred during Smith's sea-life he could not but have explicitly noticed it.

It follows, therefore, that Shakspere was wrong in *All's Well*. Whether he were wrong also in the *Tempest* is not so immediately evident, and there is, of course, an *à priori* possibility that he might by that time have learnt his error. Without, however, entering into the question in detail, I would say that, having carefully considered both sides of the question, I have been compelled, though once of the contrary opinion, to come to the conclusion that here also he was wrong, and took the seaman's glass to be a full hour glass instead of one of half an hour.<sup>1</sup>

This conclusion is of interest in two points of view. 1. It is the first instance in which Shakspere, in his use of technicals, has been found wrong. 2. I hold it a sure proof that *Shakspere never was at sea*. I fully admit that wherever else he has used a sea technical he used it rightly, and that he has made an allusion in Sonnet cxvi. which, being misunderstood, or rather not understood, by landsmen, has been pronounced a crux, though it requires no emendation at all. I admit also that the handling of his ship in the *Tempest* is intelligent and seamanlike, and has gained the approbation of naval officers. Admitting, I say, these things, as appearing to be contrary to my supposition, and, on that supposition, only to be explained with difficulty, I cannot lose sight of the fact that, he being wrong in this point, the conclusion that he never could have been at sea inevitably follows.

If he had been, we must suppose that, quick, inquiring, and sagacious as he was, ever ready to pick up even crumbs of information, he failed to pick up what every boy picks up at once, and what every one, sailor or passenger, *must* have picked up. Shakspere could

<sup>1</sup> As noticed by Mr P. A. Daniel in his 'Time-Analysis of the Comedies,' p. 119 :—"Alonso's 'three hours' followed shortly by the Boatswain's 'three glasses' must decide this measure of time for the *Tempest* to be a *one hour glass*." As he also notes, the pilot's glass in *All's Well* is a two-hour glass.

not have been "in the cabin," unless in a mere coasting craft, and the steerage passenger is even more bound than he "in the cabin" to learn ships' hours if he would live. A cabin passenger of that day was also more bound to attend to them than he is at present, when passenger ships have become floating hotels. Take, first, the mere novelty and consequent curiosity. At 8 A.M. he hears eight bells; at half-past eight, one bell; at nine, two bells, and so on. Then at noon, when lunch is laid, and every one sharp set, some curious doings evidently cause delay. At last, the chief officer, touching his cap, says, "Eight bells, sir." "Make it so," replies the captain. *Eight* bells are sounded, the watch below "tumbles up" and relieves the other, and lunch is begun in the cabin. But half-past twelve is again one bell, and one o'clock is sounded as two, &c. Then, again, there is more cause of curiosity. At every eight bells or four hours, and during the dog-watches every two hours, the watches change, a noticeable time now; the boatswain whistles and calls loudly, and there is unusual bustle. But at that date it was the more noticeable, for every watch was commenced with prayer and the singing of a psalm. Besides, the curious landsman, transported to a wholly new world, and with, therefore, his curiosity and intelligence both awakened, if abaft the binnacle, or, in other words, a cabin passenger, could see and see handled the running or out-run glass, and hear the consequent cry of two (or so many) bells.

But there was more than mere curiosity. Those essential times of life, and especially of life at sea, the meal-times, and the time of "lights out," are all regulated by the glasses and their bells. If one would live, he must learn and obey them. Are we to suppose that Shakspere never asked for and never received the simple explanation—We reckon by periods of four hours, a watch, and every half-hour is noted?

Hence my conviction that Shakspere, having on two occasions, and on the second persistently, and late in his life, made the mistake that the seaman's hour-glass, like the landsman's hour-glass, marked an hour's length, never could have been at sea.

*Union*, sb. pearl. *Hamlet*, V. ii. 283. Though Bartholome, who wrote in 1360, calls all pearls Margarites (The orient perle), he elsewhere speaks of “Unions and Margarites.” N. Sh. Soc. *Trans.* 1877-9, p. 106. The word originated with the Romans, apparently after the Empire. Pliny says of **Uniones** or pearls:—“Their chief reputation consisteth in these fwe properties, namely, if they be orient white, great, round, smooth, and weightie. Qualities I may tell you, not easily to be found all in one; . . . And hereupon it is that our dainties and delicates here at Rome, haue deuised this name for them, and call them **Vnions**; as a man would say, Singular, and by themselues alone (*Nat. Hist.* l. 9, c. 35. Holland, transl. 1600).—*B. N.*

*Yare*, a. *The Tempest*. This word is used 4 times by Shakspere as a nautical term, and four times as a land one. “Another rule you must learne in a comedie well acted, and convaied for the devil: that the demoniacks be so neerely placed (yet in general roomes) each to other, that one may heare without benefit of Midas long eares, what is said vnto, or by the other; and so the second may be *yare* and ready to take his cue.” S. Harsnet’s *Popish Impostures*, 1603, p. 143. Neither here nor elsewhere does Harsnet use any nautical expression or phrase.—*B. N.*

*The devil’s dam*. *T. of Shrew*, I. i. 106; *C. of Errors*, IV. iii. 51; *Othello*, IV. i. 153, &c., &c. Dam is doubtless frequently used by Shakspere for mother, and possibly he and others may, without thought, have used this familiar phrase in the same sense. But in no theology, popular or otherwise, is it to be found that *the devil* came into existence through a female devil. ‘Dam’ here means simply his dame or wife (Proserpina), or if this be too respectable, his leman. Harsnet’s *Pop. Impostures*, 1603, p. 151, illustrates this. The passage also gives the cant term, *case*, for a Fidler’s wife or strumpet. “It is the fashion of vagabond players, that coast from Towne to Towne with a trusse and a cast of fiddles, to carry in theyr consort, broken queanes, and *Ganimedes* as well for their night pleasaunce, as their days pastime: our deuil-holy consort at their breaking vp house at *Denham*, departed euery priest suted with his wench after the same good custome. *Edmunds* the Jesuit (saith one of their covey) had for his darling Mistris *Cressy*, *Anne Smith* was at the disposition of Ma: *Dryland* \* \* \* \* \* And was not this a very seemely Catholicke complement trow you, to see a Fidler, and his case,<sup>1</sup> a Tinker and his bitch, a Priest and his Leman, a devil and his damme.”—*B. N.*

*mankind*, adj.: *Winter’s Tale*, II. iii. 67. “*Brifalda* a bould, shamelesse, **mankinde**, virago woman.” 1598. J. Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes*.

<sup>1</sup> A somewhat like sense is seen in *The Merry Wives*, IV. i. 64 as Dame Quickly’s comment shows: “Vengeance of Jenny’s case! fie on her! never name her, child, if she be a whore.”—F.

V. KEMP AND THE PLAY OF *HAMLET*—  
YORICK AND TARLTON—A SHORT CHAPTER IN  
DRAMATIC HISTORY.

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

(*Read at the 55th Meeting of the Society, Friday, March 12, 1880.*)

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LONG ago the question forced itself upon me,—Why is there no Fool or Court-jester in *Hamlet*? One seemed to be asked for—by the habits and taste of Shakspere's audiences accustomed to and relishing the jestings and vagaries of Tarlton and his successor Kemp,—by the time and personages represented,—and thirdly, by the tone and character of the play. That is, the tone and temper of Shakspere's mind when composing it seems to have required such an outlet. Under the assumed folly of a jester he could, *more suo*, have emphasised and clinched the moralities and immoralities set forth. Who forgets the biting sarcasms of poor Lear's fool, and their aptness?

The Gravedigger scene relieves the gloom of the plot, and by contrast heightens it. Our pity for the dead Ophelia is at her burial renewed and increased, and Hamlet's love, now frenzied and despairing, is brought out to himself, and brought out in greater relief before us. So again, Osric's folly and affectations, by releasing our pity for a time, render Shakspere able to intensify it anew in the tragedies that follow. But these contrasts are confined to two scenes. Had there been a jester this might have been done more frequently and before the close, and the jester have had play for his satire besides. Both the Gravedigger and Osric seem to me like devices to make up for this want.

Polonius, I am aware, has on the stage been made a third fool, but omitting much that might be urged against this view, it will be sufficient to say that the experienced but latterly somewhat senile old man, is not to be judged according to Hamlet's prejudiced judgment. The ambitious Prince had felt from the first that Polonius and Gertrude had been gained over, and were main agents in the plotting which dispossessed him, and his glimpse of the over-hearers of his interview with Ophelia had told him that she was acting and had acted under the influence of his enemies and of her father.

If, however, the reader be unable to agree with me in these views, he cannot but allow, that had Kemp been of the company, Shakspere, a practical playwright—one who knew, so to speak, the points of the actors he wrote for, their capabilities and their excellencies—could not have failed to frame a part for so popular and influential a comedian. The question therefore resolved itself into this—Was Kemp a member of the company when *Hamlet* was produced? I say this, because we may hold it certain that there would be no one to replace him. No names have come down to us but those of Tarlton and Kemp. Each in his day was *fucile princeps* in his line, and their very excellencies prevented attempts and intrusions. Burbadge or Garrick might have had walking substitutes, but no replacers for some time. What, then, is the answer? Not only was Kemp absent, but Shakspere and he were at daggers drawn. First, as to Kemp's absence. What has been said gives it an *à priori* probability. A second probability lies in the fact, first noticed by Mr Collier, that Kemp played in *Every Man in his Humour* in 1598, but not in *Every Man out of his Humour* in 1599. A third is that Kemp performed his morris to Norwich (taking nine days to go thither) in 1599. And this not merely because of the time he was absent, but because when he published the narrative, entered in the Stationers' Registers, 22nd April, 1600, he speaks of reports of his going abroad. It is improbable that these would have arisen had he been still playing and likely to play with his company. Fourthly, as has just been said, under guise of warning the public not to believe reports of his going to Venice, Rome, and Jerusalem, he announces his intention of going as he did to both Venice and Rome.

*“Kemp’s humble request to the . . . generation of Ballad-makers [end of Nine days’ Wonder].”*

“These are by these presentes to certifie vnto your block-headships, that I, William Kemp, whom you had neer rent in sunder with your vnreasonable rimes, am shortly, God willing, to set forward as merrily as I may ; whether I myselfe know not. Wherefore, by the way, I would wish ye, imploy not your little wits in certifying the world that I am gone to Rome, Jerusalem, Venice, or any other place at your idle appoint.” [Speaking afterwards of his supposed discovery of the ballad-monger, he says]—“Let any man looke on his face ; if there be not so redle a colour that all the sope in the towne will not washe white, let me be turned to a whiting as I passe betweene Douer and Callis.”

But I have only noted these probabilities to show how they confirm the facts stated in the MS. memorandum quoted by Halliwell-Phillipps. In this, under date 2nd Sept. 1601, we have—“Kemp, mimus quidam, qui peregrinationem quandam in Germaniam et Italianam, instituerat \* \* \* multe refert de Anthonio Shirley \* \* \* quem Romæ [? Venetiæ] (legatum Persicum agentem) convenerat.” So also in ‘The Travels of the Three English Brothers,’ first published in 1607, there is a scene between Shirley and Kemp at Venice. A medley ballad also, quoted by Mr. Collier—though it might be unsafe to lay great stress on this—is said to contain the line—

“When Kemp returnes from Rome.”

Lastly, in *The Return from Parnassus*, played in 1602, and the time of action of which was in that year, as shown by the Dominical letter C (Act III. scene i.) he is addressed—What M[aster] Kemp, how doth the Emperour of Germany ?—and again—Welcome, M. Kempe from dancing the morrice over the Alpes (IV. v.). Not that he did so dance in days when there were neither diligences nor roads for them, but he is so addressed in jocular remembrance of his Norwich feat, and because he doubtless did perform occasionally, during his continental tour, to amuse himself and gratify his vanity by being the most nimble and graceful at the village sports, to please those whom he met and lodged with, and to in part defray his expenses.

Secondly, as to Kemp’s quarrel with Shakspere and his fellow-comedians. These reasons go, I think, to prove that his travel was

not a mere freak: (a) The success of his Norwich trip, during which he was *feted* and made much of by all, including the Mayor and Corporation of Norwich. (b) The then low estate and fortunes of the company. Under the successful rivalship of the young eyases, and probably also through the "inhibition," Shakespeare and his company were reduced to stroll in the provinces. It is true that the "inhibition" is not mentioned in the 1603 *Hamlet*, but we know from the after editions that this was set forth as one cause of their strolling, and its omission in the 1603 play may be explained by two politic reasons. One that they might not mis-succeed in the provinces, through the stigma of having been silenced at her Majesty's command; the other that it was held safer under the circumstances not to re-arouse the sleeping lion by any allusion to so personal and recent a state matter. To return, Kemp was just such an influential and well-to-do rat as would not care to remain in a tumble-to-pieces bark, especially when he saw prospective advantage and pleasure in quitting it for pastures new. (c) A third reason would be a quarrel—not merely with his fellow-comedians on these accounts—but a bitter quarrel with Shakspere, due to his extemporising and non-attention to and interference with the proper business of the scene. We find evidence of this in Hamlet's advice to the players, namely, in the personal and caustic remarks on the Clown, singled out as he is from the other players—remarks uncalled for by the play of *Hamlet*, or by its sub-play, 'The Mousetrap,' where no fool appears—and those on his extemporising, a noted characteristic of Kemp. These two facts have led others before me to the belief that Kemp was here hit at, and like the rest of the advice, the words were evidently introduced by Shakspere with an intention and with intent. But in the 1603 quarto there is much stronger proof of personality, and of his bitterness against the Clown, though curiously enough, it has been omitted from the text of *Hamlet* in all the editions, and in most from the notes; even the Cambridge editors have not given it. Hamlet's speech continues thus—

"And then you have some agen, that keepes one sute of Apparel, and gentlemen quotes his ieasts downe In their tables, before they come to the play, as thus : Cannot you stay till I eat my porridge ? and, you owe me

A quarter's wages : and, my coate wants a cullison :  
 And, your beere is sowre : and, blabbering with his lips,<sup>1</sup>  
 And thus keeping in his cinkapase of ieasts,  
 When, God knows, the warme Clowne cannot make a iest,  
 Vnlesse by chance, as the blinde man catcheth a hare :  
 Maisters tell him of it."

Staunton remarks that these lines have been supposed to allude to Kemp. I had been convinced independently that they did. It is clear by the particular jests quoted that some particular clown was aimed at, one well-known by these sayings. Who could this have been but the notorious jester Kemp, one who, as has just been shown, had left them, and thus still further reduced their efforts to please either town or country audiences.

It has indeed been said that these lines were taken by Shakspere from the older *Hamlet*. This is merely an unsupported—and as I think a worse than unsupported, a ludicrous—attempt at explaining their after absence. There is not the slightest authority, proof, or probability for this view. We know of but two or three phrases of the old *Hamlet*. If we exclude these lines as not Shakspere's, we ought to exclude the whole scene, and suppose that such a scene, universally and without contest given to him, was pirated by him from a rival play. Further, we must suppose that two dramatists led by the same warm thoughts and motives, chose similar plays in which to expound in identical and identifying words their opinions on a matter or rather matters wholly foreign to the plot and personages of these plays. And lastly, we have to believe that the latter of these dramatists was—William Shakspere ! It is true that the passage is not in his best manner, but so far as my poor knowledge of style goes they are Shakspere's. And it is good enough, considering whose the sayings were which form a great portion of it, and considering what our author was aiming at, and that he was angry, and more than angry. Their absence from the later versions, which

<sup>1</sup> That this "blabbering" was another and the fifth quoted jest I think is shown by the after phrase, "cinque-a-pace of jests," though this of course was otherwise applicable.

Shakspere's anger appears in the last three lines to have led him into injustice, for it is well known that Kemp had a ready and jocular vein. Witness his remark after Prince Hal's buffet, as also his extempore replies to his audiences.

has led to the conjectural explanation that they were not Shakspere's, will presently be satisfactorily explained.

Having lately re-looked into these conclusions that I might state them to a friend, it occurred to me that Kemp having been thus quarrelled with and hit at, the praise of the dead jester Yorick might be praise of the dead Tarlton, Kemp's predecessor. There was no necessity for Shakspere's choice of a jester as the owner of the skull, an old nurse or attached attendant might have served his turn, and would certainly have been as natural, and have given rise to equally affectionate remembrances. But had Shakspere known Tarlton, and had his remembrance of him been vivified by a quarrel with Kemp, he would naturally have increased the virulence of his attack on the one, by the implied contrast with the other. It was, however, necessary to put this supposition to the test. Now the dates in the 1603 quarto differ from those of after editions. In it the Gravedigger says—

“Here's a skull hath been here this dozen yeare.

\* \* \* \* \*

This was one Yorickes skull.”

The opinions as to the production of *Hamlet* vary between 1599 and 1601. On grounds other than the present, I had previously adopted 1600. Take a dozen years from 1600, and we get 1588. Tarlton was buried 3rd Sept., 1588.

A casual coincidence of dates an objector may say. Rather, I would reply, an agreement to which I was led, and one which is supported by the various probabilities before noticed, and which requires for its confutation proof that *Hamlet* was not composed in 1600. But there is yet another proof. Kemp returned, according to the MS. quoted by H. Phillipps—"post multos errores et infortunia sua"—about the 2nd Sept., 1601. From the 10th March, 1602, to the 4th Sept., 1602, we find him, by the entries in Henslowe's diary of those dates, and by that of 22nd August, in the employ of this manager. No mention of him occurring before or after, we are almost justified in concluding from this alone, that these dates give us nearly the period of this engagement. We are unable to say where he was between 2nd Sept., 1601, and 10th March,

1602, though it is hardly probable that having so quarrelled with Shakspere and his company, he would have rejoined them immediately on his return to England, only to leave them within six months for their rivals, and then, as we shall presently see, return to them again in about another seven months. But the question does not much matter. What is wanted to be known is—What became of him after Henslowe's last entry of Sept., 1602. Now in *The Return from Parnassus*, played at Cambridge at Christmastide, 1602, Kemp and Burbadge are represented as business touring thither in conjunction for recruits (Act IV. scene iii.), a thing almost impossible if they belonged to rival companies, and wholly impossible if we read the scene. It also appears by this same scene that it was intended to represent Kemp's first visit to Cambridge after his continental trip, otherwise the salutations already quoted would have been ridiculously out of date and place.

But to use the mildest term, it would have been unpleasant both to Kemp and Shakspere, that the direct Shakspere-Hamletian jibes should be still spoken against the former on his own boards. So also considering that these jibings had induced the publicly-expressed regrets for and admiration of Tarlton, would be the retention of these latter. What, then, do we find in the 1604 and subsequent versions? First, that while this 1604 version was "enlarged to almost as much again as it was," and while the more general remarks on the Clown are retained, the individualising lines before quoted are excised. Secondly, that the identification of Yorick with Tarlton is destroyed by placing Yorick in his grave not *twelve* but *twenty-three* years before. And it may be remarked by the way that this improves the play, for it makes *Hamlet* at the very least close upon thirty, if not beyond it, an age which leaves no possible excuse in the minds of the spectators for the resolutions of his uncle, his mother, and Polonius to exclude him from the throne—shows his love for Ophelia to be no boyish fancy—and, above all, brings out more strongly his tendency to meditate instead of acting, as well as his innate irresolution of mind. At thirty he is still one who broods over his wrongs till he thinks the world out of joint. He forms elaborate mental schemes, wherein he provides against all accidents,

and is for the time satisfied, and there ends, only to brood anew over his troubles, and again go over his old schemes or begin a new one.

In conclusion I would make these six remarks. First, that I have been informed by the Rev. Mr Fleay that he had already, at some antecedent time, come to the conclusion that Yorick was Tarlton, though I know not his arguments. Secondly, that this identification, without reasoning in a circle, lends another probability to those who think that *Hamlet* was produced in 1600. Thirdly, that the 1604 version can hardly be earlier than 10th Sept. or 1st October, 1602. Fourthly, that this allusion to Kemp adds a second instance to the Lucy episode where Shakspere has chosen the stage for the expression of his anger, if not of his malice. Fifthly, that it adds to the personal allusions in a play seemingly unusually full of them. We have—1. The inhibition.—2. The success and conduct of the little eyases.—3. The consequent reduction of Shakspere and his fellows to strolling vagabonds.—4. His particular desire to hit at and note his opinion of the acting of certain actors (probably among the rival company or companies), a desire not unnatural in one of his then frame of mind, and reduced position.—5. His quarrel with Kemp.—6. His remembrance of Tarlton. Sixthly, I would remark that this last gives greater probability to the belief that he had personally known Tarlton, and had probably joined the players on or just after one of their visits to Stratford, say in 1585.

NOTE.—Chalmers thought that Kemp died during the pestilence of 1603, because among the deaths in the register of St Saviour's, Southwark, he found, "1603 November 2. William Kempe, a man," and this has been supposed to be confirmed by the omission of Kemp's name in the license granted by K. James to his players 17 May, 1603. But as Mr Collier well remarks, "a William Kemp, a common name, is noted by Chalmers as married at St Bartholomew the Less, not far from the Blackfriar's Theatre in 1606." Then again, a William Kemp, noted in various token-books, is noted in that of 1605 as living "near the playhouse." The reader may take these three Kemps as one, or two, or more as he pleases, but they do not prove that Kemp the Comedian died in 1603, nor that he was married in 1606. Mr Collier also gives from the "civic archives—1605, Whereas Kempe, Armyne, and others, plaiers at" . . . .

The difficulty, that he is not mentioned in the Royal License of May 1603, is not got over by supposing that he died in November

1603. The true explanation I conceive is this—Kemp having sold or lost his shares when he left the Lord Chamberlain's Company, circa 1600, he could not regain them when their holders were in good view of prosperity in 1603, and he was therefore in the position of "a hired man."

Nor does either supposition affect my argument. 1. The Ret. from Parnassus proves that about Christmas, 1602, Burbage and Kemp were co-mates. 2. If Kemp had died, Shakspere—if we understand his character rightly—would have expunged his personalities, just as though he had joined the Company.

B. NICHOLSON.

### DISCUSSION.

MR FURNIVALL:—While I think it most probable that the Clown-sneers of Q1 were aimed at some special clown, who would naturally be Kemp, and while I agree with Dr Nicholson that the 'cinkapase' and 'warne clowne' passage in Q1 represents lines of Shakspere's own, and not the old *Hamlet* writer's,<sup>1</sup> I have no sympathy with his view that a Fool or Court-Jester is wanted in *Hamlet*. Hamlet himself does the main work of Lear's fool. To adopt Dr N.'s words: "Who forgets the biting sarcasms of [Hamlet], and their aptness?" If there had been a fool in *Hamlet*, his chief occupation would have been to jeer at Hamlet's way of "sweeping to his revenge" through the long four last acts of the play. One can fancy what short work "the bitter fool" who showed Lear what he was, would have made of Hamlet's excuses and delays, flesh-melting, play-teaching, and 'may be a devil,' &c.<sup>2</sup> If Shakspere had had 18 Kemps at hand, he'd not have put one into *Hamlet*,—or *Othello* or *Macbeth*;—he knew his business too well for that.

Why not be content with Kemp's habit of gagging and grimacing, and his absence from the company in 1601 and the early part of 1602?<sup>3</sup> That is all that is wanted. The 'bitter quarrel' and Yorick-Tarloton are surely but ingenious may-bes.

<sup>1</sup> The Doctor's strong words on p. 61 about this old-*Hamlet* borrowing are not one whit too strong. See my Forewords to *Hamlet* Q2.

<sup>2</sup> *Hamlet* is admirably characterized by Dr N. on p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Mr Collier, wrongly quoting Mr Halliwell (*Coventry Myst.* p. 410), has in his *Memoirs of Actors*, p. 115, printed *per* for *post*, in his extract from the Sloane MS. 414, leaf 56, mistakenly called by Mr H. 'MS. Sloan. 392, fol. 401,' because MS. 392 happens to be the first of several MSS. bound together. The true reading of the MS.—The Diary of William Smith of Abingdon, Aug. 4, 1598, to Apr. 25, 1604—is as follows:—

1601. "Sep. 2. Kemp, mimus quidam, qui peregrinationem quandam in Germaniam et Italianam, instituerat, post multos errores, et infortunia sua, reversus: multa referit de Anthonio Sherly, equite aurato, quem Romæ (legatum Persicum agentem) conuenierat." This passage is (like a few others) in a corrector's or adder's hand, and different ink from that of the main text of the

I agree with Dr Nicholson that the 'babbling with his lips' was the 5th jest. And that it specially suited Kemp may be judged by Chalmers' words about him (*Variorum*, 1821, iii. 489).

"He usually represented the *clowns*, who are always *very roguish*; and, like Tarleton,<sup>1</sup> gained celebrity by his *extemporal wit*; whilst, like other clowns, Kempe raised many a *roar by making faces, and mouths, of all sorts.*"<sup>2</sup>

DR NICHOLSON:—As *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth* are placed in one category, and *Lear* in another, are we to suppose that the Gravedigger and Osric were interpolations by the players? They are two fools already in *Hamlet*,<sup>3</sup> nor am I so confident that I can pronounce on Shakspeare's rules of art.

Mr Furnivall I believe admits, as I think all must admit, that the retained passage on the clown, and especially the excised bit, only found in Q<sub>1</sub>, were levelled at Kemp; but he drops all remembrance of these when he thinks the evidence of a bitter quarrel an ingenious may-be. Surely they are as certain proofs of a quarrel as the jokes on the Lucy's are proof that Shakspeare ventured to vent his bitterness against them publicly on the stage. The secession of Kemp, and his departure for the continent, is another concurrent argument. A third and very strong one is the excision of the markedly personal portion of these allusions when Kemp made his peace and rejoined the company.

I cannot now enter into my reasons for assigning the first version of *Hamlet* to 1600. But with our present knowledge we can neither positively assign six other plays to 1599—1601, and cannot because of those six exclude *Hamlet* from those dates. And I would again remark that the extraordinary coincidence of dates which occurs in Q<sub>1</sub> when Kemp was violently hit at, and which was destroyed when the hit at Kemp was removed, affords a strong argument in favour of my view.

diary. But this corrector is not the Victorian Mr Perkins, his additions are not forgeries, so far as I can judge.—F. J. F.

<sup>1</sup> So a sneer at Kemp for gag would hit Tarleton's memory too.

<sup>2</sup> "In the Cambridge comedy, called *The Return from Parnassus*, Kemp is introduced personally, and made to say: 'I was once at a Comedy in Cambridge, and there I saw a parasite *make faces and mouths of all sorts, ON THIS FASHION.*' When Burbadge has instructed a student how to act properly, and tells him: 'You will do well after a while;' Kemp takes up the student thus: 'Now for you; methinks you should belong to *my tuition*; and *your face*, methinks, would be good for a foolish mayor, or *a foolish justice of peace*: mark me.' And then Kemp goes on to represent a *foolish mayor making faces*, for the instruction of the student."

I don't believe in *Hamlet* being written in 1600. For 1599-1601 we have *Henry V*, *Much Ado*, *As you like it*, *Twelfth Night*, *All's Well*, *Julius Caesar*: surely enough for even Shakspeare, without adding, in 1600, *Hamlet*, which I am persuaded follow'd *Julius Cæsar*.

<sup>3</sup> Dr N.'s own answer to the question with which he started his Paper, p. 57.—F.

## VI. THE SEASONS OF SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS.

BY THE REV. H. N. ELLACOMBE, M.A.

(Read at the 62nd Meeting of the Society, Friday, June 11, 1880.)

IN this paper I do not propose to make any exhaustive inquiry into the seasons of Shakspere's Plays, but (at Mr Furnivall's suggestion) I have tried to find out whether in any case the season that was in the poet's mind can be discovered by the flowers or fruits, or whether, where the season is otherwise indicated, the flowers and fruits are in accordance. In other words, my inquiry is simply confined to the argument, if any, that may be derived from the flowers and fruits, leaving out of the question all other indications of the seasons.

The first part of the inquiry is, what plants or flowers are mentioned in each play. They are as follows :—

## COMEDIES.

*Tempest.* Apple, crab, wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats, peas, briar, furze, gorse, thorns, broom, cedar, corn, cowslip, nettle, docks, mallow, filbert, heath, ling, grass, nut, ivy, lily<sup>1</sup>, pœony<sup>1</sup>, lime, mushrooms, oak, acorn, pignuts, pine, reed, saffron, sedges, stover, vine.

*Two Gentlemen of Verona.* Lily, roses, sedges.

*Merry Wives.* Pippins, buttons (?), balm, bilberry, cabbage, carrot, elder, eryngoes, figs, flax, hawthorn, oak, pear, plums, prunes, potatoes, pumpion, roses, turnips, walnut.

*Twelfth Night.* Apple, box, ebony, flax, nettle<sup>1</sup>, olive, squash, peascod, codling, roses, violet, willow, yew.

*Measure for Measure.* Birch, burs, corn, garlick, medlar, oak, myrtle, peach, prunes, grapes, vine, violet.

<sup>1</sup> This is a modern conjecture or emendation.—F

*Much Ado.* Carduus benedictus, honeysuckle, woodbine, oak, orange, rose, sedges, willow.

*Midsummer Night's Dream.* Crab, apricots, beans, briar, red rose, broom, bur, cherry, corn, cowslip, dewberries, oxlip, violet, woodbine, eglantine, figs, mulberries, garlick, onions, grass, hawthorn, nuts, hemp, honeysuckle, knotgrass, leek, lily, peas-blossom, oak, acorn, oats, orange, love-in-idleness, primrose, musk-rosebuds, musk roses, thistle, thorns, thyme, grapes, violet, wheat.

*Love's Labour Lost.* Apple, pomewater, crab, cedar, lemon, cockle, mint, columbine, corn, daisies, ladysmocks, cuckoobuds, ebony, elder, grass, lily, nutmeg, oak, osier, oats, peas, plantain, rose, sycamore, thorns, wormwood.

*Merchant of Venice.* Apple, grass, pines, reed, wheat, willow.

*As You Like It.* Acorns, hawthorn, brambles, briar, bur, chestnut, cork, nuts, holly, medlar, moss, oak, olive, palm, peascod, rose, rush, rye, sugar, grape, osier.

*All's Well.* Briar, date, grass, nut, marjoram, herb of grace, onions, pear, pomegranate, roses, rush, saffron, grapes.

*Taming of Shrew.* Apple, crab, chestnut, cypress, hazel, oats, onion, love-in-idleness, parsley, roses, rush, sedges, walnut.

*Winter's Tale.* Briars, carnations, gilly-flower, cork, oxlips, Crown Imperial, currants, daffodils, saffron, flax, lilies, flower-de-luce, garlick, ivy, lavender, mints, savory, marjoram, marigold, nettle, oak, warden, squash, pines, prunes, primrose, damask roses, rosemary, rue, thorns, violets.

*Comedy of Errors.* Balsam, ivy, briar, moss, rush, nut, cherry-stone, elm, vine, grass, saffron.

### HISTORIES.

*King John.* Plum, cherry, fig, lily, rose, violet, rush, thorns.

*Richard II.* Apricots, balm, bay, corn, grass, nettles, pines, rose, rue, thorns, violets, yew.

*Henry IV., pt. I.* Apple john, pease, beans, blackberries, camomile, fernseed, garlick, ginger, moss, nettle, oats, prunes, pomegranate, radish, reeds, rose, rush, sedges, speargrass.

*Henry IV., pt. II.* Aconite, apple john, leathercoats, aspen,

balm, carraways, corn, ebony, elm, fennel, fig, gooseberries, hemp, honeysuckle, mandrake, olive, peach, peascod, prunes, radish, rose, rush.

*Henry V.* Apple, balm, docks, elder, fig, flower-de-luce, grass, hemp, leek, nettle, fumitory, kecksies, burs, cowslips, burnet, clover, darnel, strawberry, thistles, vine, violet, hemlock.

*Henry VI., pt. I.* Briar, white and red rose, corn, flower-de-luce, vine.

*Henry VI., pt. II.* Crab, cedar, corn, cypress, fig, flax, flower-de-luce, grass, hemp, laurel, mandrake, pine, plums, damsons, primrose, thorns.

*Henry VI., part 3.* Balm, cedar, corn, hawthorn, oaks, olive, laurel, thorns.

*Richard III.* Balm, cedar, roses, strawberry, vines.

*Henry VIII.* Apple, crab, bays, palms, broom, cherry, cedar, corn, lily.

#### TRAGEDIES.

*Troilus and Cressida.* Almond, balm, blackberry, date, nut, laurels, lily, toadstool, nettle, pine, plantain, potato, wheat.

*Timon of Athens.* Balm, balsam, oaks, briars, grass, medlar, moss, olive, palm, rose, grape.

*Coriolanus.* Crab, ash, briars, cedar, cockle, corn, cypress, garlick, mulberry, nettle, oak, orange, palm, rush, grape.

*Macbeth.* Balm, chestnut, corn, hemlock, insane root, lily, primrose, rhubarb, senna (cyme), yew.

*Julius Cæsar.* Oak, palm.

*Anthony and Cleopatra.* Balm, figs, flag, laurel, mandragora, myrtle, olive, onions, pine, reeds, rose, rue, rush, grapes, wheat, vine.

*Cymbeline.* Cedar, violet, cowslip, primrose, daisies, harebell, eglantine, elder, lily, marybuds, moss, oak, acorn, pine, reed, rushes, vine.

*Titus Andronicus.* Aspen, briars, cedar, honeystalks, corn, elder, grass, laurel, lily, moss, mistletoe, nettles, yew.

*Pericles.* Rosemary, bay, roses, cherry, corn, violets, marigolds, rose, thorns.

*Romeo and Juliet.* Bitter-sweeting, dates, hazel, mandrake, medlar, popering pear, pink, plantain, pomegranate, quince, roses, rosemary, rush, sycamore, thorn, willow, wormwood, yew.

*King Lear.* Apple, balm, cork, corn, crab, fumiter, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers, darnel, flax, hawthorn, lily, marjoram, oats, peascod, rosemary, vines, wheat, samphire.

*Hamlet.* Fennel, columbine, crow-flower, nettles, daisies, long purples or dead-men's-fingers, flax, grass, hebenon, palm, pansies, plumtree, primrose, rose, rosemary, rue, herb of grace, thorns, violets, wheat, willow, wormwood.

*Othello.* Locusts, coloquintida, figs, nettles, lettuce, hyssop, thyme, poppy, mandragora, oak, rue, rush, strawberries, sycamore, grapes, willow.

*Two Noble Kinsmen.* Apricot, bulrush, cedar, plane, cherry, corn, currant, daffodils, daisies, flax, lark's heels, marigolds, narcissus, nettles, oak, oxlips, plantain, reed, primrose, rose, thyme, rush.

This I believe to be a complete list of the flowers of Shakspere arranged according to the plays, and they are mentioned in one of three ways—first, adjectively, as ‘flaxen was his pole,’ ‘hawthorn-brake,’ ‘barley-broth,’ ‘thou honeysuckle villain,’ ‘onion-eyed,’ ‘cowslip-cheeks,’ but the instances of this use by Shakspere are not many; second, proverbially or comparatively, as ‘tremble like aspen,’ ‘we grew together like to a double cherry seemly parted,’ ‘the stinking elder-grief,’ ‘thou art an elm, my husband, I a vine,’ ‘not worth a gooseberry.’ There are numberless instances of this use of the names of flowers, fruits, and trees, but neither of these uses give any indication of the seasons; and in one or other of these ways they are used (and only in these ways) in the following plays:—*Tempest*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Measure for Measure*, *Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, *Taming of Shrew*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Macbeth*, *King John*, *Henry IV.*, pt. 1, *Henry VI.*, pt. 2, *Henry VI.*, pt. 3, *Henry VIII.*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, *Pericles*, *Othello*. These therefore may be dismissed at once. There remain the following plays in which indications of the seasons intended either in the whole play or in the particular act may be traced. In some cases the traces are exceedingly slight (almost none

at all); in others they are so strongly marked that there is little doubt that Shakspere used them of set purpose and carefully:—*Merry Wives*, *Twelfth Night*, *Much Ado*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour Lost*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well*, *Winter's Tale*, *Richard II.*, *Henry IV.*, pt. 2, *Henry V.*, *Henry VI.*, pt. 1, *Richard III.*, *Timon of Athens*, *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *Two Noble Kinsmen*.

*Merry Wives.* Herne's oak gives the season intended—

“Herne the hunter,  
Sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest,  
Doth all the winter time at still midnight  
Walk round about an oak with ragged horns.”

If Shakspere really meant to place the scene in mid-winter, there may be a fitness in Mrs Quickly's looking forward to “a posset at night, at the latter end of a sea-coal fire,”<sup>1</sup> to Pistol's

“Take heed, ere summer comes, or cuckoo birds do sing,”<sup>2</sup> and to Ford's ‘birding’ and ‘hawking’; but it is not in accordance with the literature of the day to have fairies dancing at midnight in the depth of winter.

*Twelfth Night.* We know that the whole of this play occupies but a few days, and is chiefly “matter for a May morning.” This gives emphasis to Olivia's oath, “By the roses of the Spring . . . I love thee so” (Act II. sc. iv.).

*Much Ado.* The season must be summer. There is the sitting out-of-doors in the “still evening, hushed on purpose to grace harmony”; and it is the time of year for the full leafage when Beatrice might

“Steal into the pleached bower,  
Where honeysuckles, ripen'd by the sun,  
Forbid the sun to enter” (Act III. sc. i.).

*Midsummer Night's Dream.* The name marks the season, and there is a profusion of flowers to mark it too. It may seem strange to us to have ‘Apricocks’ at the end of June, but in speaking of the

<sup>1</sup> For it was a “raw rheumatick day” (Act III. sc. i.).

<sup>2</sup> See page 108.

seasons of Shakspere and others, it should be remembered that their days were twelve days later than ours of the same names ; and if to this is added the variation of a fortnight or three weeks, which may occur in any season in the ripening of a fruit, ‘apricocks’ might well be sometimes gathered on their Midsummer day. But I do not think even this elasticity will allow for the ripening of mulberries and purple grapes at that time, and scarcely of figs. The scene, however, being laid in Athens and in fairyland, must not be too minutely criticised in this respect. But with the English plants the time is more accurately observed. There is the ‘green corn’; ‘the dewberries,’ which in a forward season may be gathered early in July; the ‘lush woodbine’ in the fulness of its lushness at that time; the pansies, or ‘love in idleness,’ which (says Gerard) ‘flower not only in the spring, but for the most part all sommer thorowe, even untill autumne’; the ‘sweet musk roses and the eglantine,’ also in flower then, though the musk roses, being rather late bloomers, would show more of the ‘musk rosebuds’ in which Titania bid the elves ‘Kill cankers’ than of the full-blown flower; while the thistle would be exactly in the state for ‘Monsieur Cobweb’ to ‘kill a good red-hipped humble bee on the top of it’ to ‘bring the honeybag’ to Bottom. Besides these there are the flowers on the ‘bank whereon the wild thyme blows; where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,’ and I think the distinction worth noting between the ‘blowing’ of the wild thyme, which would then be at its fullest, and the ‘growing’ of the oxlips and the violet, which had passed their time of blowing, but the living plants continued ‘growing.’<sup>1</sup>

*Love's Labour Lost.* The general tone of the play points to the full summer, the very time when we should expect to find Boyet thinking ‘to close his eyes some half an hour under the cool shade of a sycamore’ (Act V. sc. ii.).

*All's Well that Ends Well.* There is a pleasant note of the season in—

<sup>1</sup> If ‘the rite of May’ (Act IV. sc. i.) is to be strictly limited to May-Day, the title of a ‘Midsummer Night’s Dream’ does not apply. The difficulty can only be met by supposing the scene to be laid at any night in May, even in the last night, which would coincide with our 12th of June.

“ The time will bring on summer,  
 When briars will have leaves as well as thorns,  
 And be as sweet as sharp ” (Act IV. sc. iv.);

but probably that is only a proverbial expression of hopefulness, and cannot be pushed further.

*Winter's Tale.* There seems some little confusion in the season of the fourth Act—the feast for the sheep-shearing, which is in the very beginning of summer—yet Perdita dates the season as ‘the year growing ancient’—

“ Nor yet on summer's death, nor on the birth  
 Of trembling winter”—

and gives Camillo the ‘flowers of middle summer.’ The flowers named are all summer flowers; carnations or gilliflowers, lavender, mints, savory, marjoram, and marigold.

*Richard II.* There are several marked and well-known dates in this play, but they are not much marked by the flowers. The intended combat was on St. Lambert's day (17th Sept.), but there is no allusion to autumn flowers. In Act III. sc. iii., which we know must be placed in August, there is, besides the mention of the summer dust, King Richard's sad strain :

“ Our sighs, and they (tears), shall lodge the summer corn,”  
 and in the same Act we have the gardener's orders to trim the rank summer growth of the ‘dangling apricocks,’ while in the last Act, which must be some months later, we have the Duke of York speaking of ‘this new spring of time’ and the Duchess asking—

“ Who are the violets now  
 That strew the green lap of the new-come spring ? ”

and though in both cases the words may be used proverbially, yet it seems also probable that they may have been suggested by the time of year.

*Henry IV., pt. 2.* There is one flower-note in Act II. sc. iv., where the Hostess says to Falstaff, “ Fare thee well ! I have known thee these twenty-five years come peascod time,” of which it can only be said that it must have been spoken at some other time than the summer.

*Henry V.* The exact season of Act V. sc. i. is fixed by St. David's Day (March 1) and the leek.

*Henry VI.*, pt. 1. The scene in the Temple gardens (Act II. sc. iv.), where all turned on the colour of the roses, must have been at the season when the roses were in full bloom, say June.

*Richard III.* Here too the season of Act II. sc. iv. is fixed by the ripe strawberries brought by the Bp. of Ely to Richard. The exact date is known to be June 13, 1483.

*Timon of Athens.* An approximate season for Act IV. sc. iii. might be guessed from the medlar offered by Apemantus to Timon. Our medlars are ripe in November.

*Anthony and Cleopatra.* The figs and fig-leaves brought to Cleopatra give a slight indication of the season of Act V.<sup>1</sup>

*Cymbeline.* Here there is a more distinct plant-note of the season of Act I. sc. iii. The queen and her ladies, 'while yet the dew's on ground, gather flowers,' which at the end of the scene we are told are violets, cowslips, and primroses, the flowers of the spring. In the fourth Act Lucius gives orders to 'find out the prettiest daisied plot we can,' to make a grave for Cloten; but daisies are too long in flower to let us attempt to fix a date by them.

*Hamlet.* In this play the season intended is very distinctly marked by the flowers. The first Act must certainly be some time in the winter, though it may be the end of winter or early spring—'The air bites shrewdly, it is very cold.' Then comes an interval of two months or more, and Ophelia's madness must be placed in the early summer, *i. e.* in the end of May or the beginning of June; no other time will all the flowers mentioned fit, but for that time they are exact. The violets were 'all withered'; but she could pick fennel and columbines, daisies and pansies in abundance, while the ever-green rosemary and rue ('which we may call Herb of Grace on Sundays') would be always ready. It was the time of year when

<sup>1</sup> "The Alexandrine figs are of the black kind having a white rift or Chamfre, and are surnamed Delicate. . . . Certain figs there be, which are both early and also lateward . . . . they are ripe first in harvest, and afterwards in time of vintage . . . . also some there be which beare thrice a yeare" (*Pliny, Nat. Hist.*, b. xv., c. 18, P. Holland's translation, 1601).

trees were in their full leafage, and so the ‘willow growing ascaunt the brook would show its hoar leaves in the glassy stream,’ while its ‘slivers,’ would help her in making ‘fantastic garlands’ ‘of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples,’ or ‘dead men’s fingers,’ all of which she would then be able to pick in abundance in the meadows, but which in a few weeks would be all gone. Perhaps the time of year may have suggested to Laertes that pretty but sad address to his sister,

“O Rose of May !  
Dear maid, kind sister, sweet Ophelia !”

*Titus Andronicus.* There is a plant-note in Act II. sc. ii.—

“The trees, though summer, yet forlorn and lean,  
O’ercome with moss and baleful mistletoe.”

*Romeo and Juliet.* A slight plant-note of the season may be detected in the nightly singing of the nightingale in the pomegranate tree in the third Act.

*King Lear.* The plants named point to one season only, the spring. At no other time could the poor mad king have gone singing aloud,

“Crowned with rank fumiter and furrow weeds,  
With harlock, hemlocks, nettles, cuckoo flowers,  
And darnel.”

I think this would also be the time for gathering the fresh shoots of the samphire; but I do not know this for certain.<sup>1</sup>

*Two Noble Kinsmen.* Here the season is distinctly stated for us by the poet. The scene is laid in May, and the flowers named are all in accordance — daffodils, daisies, marigolds, oxlips, primrose, roses, and thyme.

I cannot claim any great literary results from this inquiry into the seasons of Shakspere as indicated by the flowers named; on the contrary, I must confess that the results are exceeding small—I might almost say, none at all—still I do not regret the time and trouble that the inquiry has demanded of me. In every literary inquiry the

<sup>1</sup> The objection to fixing the date of the play in spring is that Cordelia bids search to be made for Lear ‘in every acre of the high-grown field.’ If this can only refer to a field of corn at its full growth, there is a confusion of seasons. But if the larger meaning is given to ‘field,’ which it bears in ‘flowers of the field,’ ‘beasts of the field,’ the confusion is avoided. The words would then refer to the wild overgrowth of an open country.

value of the research is not to be measured by the visible results. It is something even to find out that there are no results, and so save trouble to future inquirers. But in this case the research has not been altogether in vain. Every addition, however small, to the critical study of our great Poet has its value ; and to myself, as a student of the Natural History of Shakspere, the inquiry has been a very pleasant one, because it has confirmed my previous opinion, that even in such common matters as the names of the most familiar every-day plants he does not write in a careless hap-hazard way, naming just the plant that comes uppermost in his thoughts, but that they are all named in the most careful and correct manner, exactly fitting into the scenes in which they are placed, and so giving to each passage a brightness and a reality which would be entirely wanting if the plants were set down in the ignorance of guess-work. Shakspere knew the plants well ; and though his knowledge is never paraded, by its very thoroughness it cannot be hid.

*bench holes.* *Ant. and Cl.*, IV. vii. 9. The context favours the gloss—‘holes of privies,’<sup>1</sup> they beraying themselves through fear ; whence diarrhoea was in old English parlance—‘having the Danes.’ Harsnet, *Pop. Impostures*, 1603, p. 18, says, that some, to avoid detection—“did put their heads in a **bench hole** for twelve months” [in jocular reference to the belief that the ostrich with the same view hid her head in the sand].

*She never could away with me.* 2 *Henry IV*, III. ii. 213. Abide, endure or like. The supposed devil in Sara was made to say—“She [the Virgin Mary] cannot away with a principall person [Q. Elizabeth] in this Realme.” Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.*, 1603, p. 152. ‘Away’ comes from *A. S. on*, and *weg*, way, road, so that the phrase—“She cannot away with,” means literally—“She cannot go on the road, or in company with.”

*bag and baggage.* *As Y. Like It*, III. ii. 170—“for they remoued **bagge** and **baggage** as your wandring Players vse to doe”—Harsnet, *Pop. Impostures*, 1603, p. 11. The author is fond of likening his adversaries to actors, and shows a certain familiarity with their ways and doings, besides drawing illustrations from the old Moralities in this book, though he does not in that of 1599 against the sectarian devil-hunter Darrel. Hence it is allowable to conjecture that the phrase above was a known one among strollers.

<sup>1</sup> Malone gave the gloss long before Schmidt or Schmidt’s father was born.—B.N.

VII. THE RELATION OF THE  
QUARTO TO THE FOLIO VERSION OF *HENRY V.*

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

*Read at the 49th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Feb. 14, 1879.*

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My friend Mr P. A. Daniel, in his Introduction to the parallel texts has shown beyond a doubt that the Quarto was printed from a copy most ignorantly curtailed for stage representation. I give his examples in my own words. In Q. and F. I. ii. 71 we find, "Hugh Capet also." Why also? Because though omitted in Q. King Pepin had been spoken of as a first example. Pepin's title also, as having been derived from the female, is spoken of again at l. 89 in F. and in the corresponding line of the Q. Again, in F. the third example is "King Lewes," but as he had not been mentioned in the Q. contraction, the adapter substituted "Charles," evidently in the belief that Charles, Duke of Loraine, having been mentioned for another purpose, the clod-pole audience would take "King Charles" to be a reference to this "Duke." Thirdly, though in the Q. this "Charles of Loraine" is not mentioned before F. l. 85, yet while several lines before and after this line are omitted, this is retained, and runs

"Daughter to Charles the *foresaid* Duke of Loraine."

Fourthly, by the excisions just mentioned, the Lady Lingare is made the daughter of Charles of Loraine instead of the daughter of Charlemagne, as she is rightly called in the complete text. Fifthly, Hugh Capet, who murdered this Charles, is made to derive his title through his descent from Lady Lingare, the alleged daughter of this

very Charles. Further on, in III. vii., a night scene in the French camp, this altering genius, in want of a ryming tag, takes that of IV. ii., a morning scene that he omits, and ends his night scene thus—

“Come, come away;  
The sun is hie, and we weare out the day.”

I could add as another argument that in the Q., besides the shortening of the time of representation, the number of actors is lessened.<sup>1</sup> Ten characters are either non-speakers or wanting, including that of the French Queen. The Duke of Britaine is another, and as in II. iv. he is addressed, the words in the Q. are altered and his name omitted. Again, besides these ten, the English Ambassadors, and the Messenger who announces them, resolve themselves in the Q. II. iv. into Exeter, with the change in the text of “them” to “him.” The same appears to have been at first intended when the French Ambassadors were introduced, for in Q. I. ii. the King asks only for “the Messenger from the Dolphin,” but the idea was either abandoned, or by a slip “Ambassadors” was afterwards retained, as also the plurals “us, we, and them.”

Now, can we account for these things? I think so, whether we look on the fewer characters as in part Shakspere’s first conception, or whether it were in part, as seems likely, a reduction by some other to meet reduced circumstances. We know that in 1600 the company were travelling in the provinces, because, as the 1603 *Hamlet* says, the children were so popular, and as he afterwards ventured to add, by reason of the inhibition. Agreeing with this is the defection of Kemp. Now just as he left a tottering house, so would others even before the company actually left London, and the shareholders would of course be glad to get rid as much as possible of the “hired men.” Hence the Quarto is so curtailed, and so minished in its performers as to suit a poorer and a clod-pole audience, whether in London or in the country.

I. But another point of difference is noticed by Mr Daniel, and I quote his own words: “In the F. version are certain historical errors not found in the Q. edition. We must, therefore, either believe that these errors were the result of the elaboration of the first

sketch (the Q.), or we must conclude that they were corrected in the shortened play (the Q.); the latter hypothesis seems to me the only tenable one."

Now, first, none of the historical errors here spoken of are important, either as bearing on the general accuracy of the account given, or as altering the plot intended to be represented. Then why is Mr. Daniel's second hypothesis the only tenable one? As he has given no reasons, I must adduce the considerations that have occurred to myself. Why should the first sketch, when the author had his Holinshed either before him, or freshly in his memory, why should it be less correct than the later version, not of a primer, but of a work of imagination founded on the broad lines of history, but filled in according to the author's fancy and intents? Who were the objectors? Were they those historical purists, the players? Had they expressed a puritanical dislike to acting anything not strictly founded on facts? Or had his audiences thought that their little go in history or their chances at a competitive examination would be endangered? Or, lastly, was Shakspere's conscience tardily awakened to the enormity of his twistings of history in this his Pinnock's catechism of the sayings and doing of the English under Henry V. If so—omitting any notice of more important matters—why did he retain Pistol and his associates, including the buxom Quickly? Why, too, did he retain 'pax,' when Holinshed distinctly says it was a 'pix'; and neither Holinshed nor any other chronicler give the theft to Bardolph? Mr Daniel himself says in reference to 1 *Henry VI.*, N. Sh. S. Tr. 1877-9, P. II., p. 298 note—"If we are to correct the dramatist at the bidding of history, very little of his work would remain intact."

The other hypothesis seems to me from an *à priori* point of view as easy and likely. Shakspere, looking later at his drama, looked at it, not as at a compendious primer, but as an acting Drama, and considered how its dramatic power might be improved, and the points and morals that he would enforce brought out more clearly without interfering with the main facts of history. This second hypothesis is supported by various previous authorities—Knight, for instance, giving examples in its favour, though, as has been noticed, Mr.

Daniel neither confutes him nor adduces reasons for his new view. Clearly, which of the two hypotheses is the more tenable can only be decided by a somewhat detailed comparison of the Q. and F. But first I will consider three of the more important of the Folio deviations from history.

1. The Dauphin is made present at Agincourt. The answer to the question why Shakspere thus deviated from history is simple. Henry was evidently a favourite hero, as king, as warrior, and as a religiously-disposed prince, far-seeing, sagacious, merciful, yet uncompromising when compromise was only weakness. The counsel of his astute father approves itself to him—engage in foreign war that the minds of your people may be occupied, and their interests consolidated. Yet he will not undertake a war with France, on which he thinks he has a claim, unless his title be proved. It is proved in a way that would satisfy any warlike spirit, and by his highest Church authority. Then his words are—"God before I'll bring it to my awe"—and he makes his appeal to God in whose name he puts forth his "rightful hand in a well-hallowed cause." In like manner, after Agincourt, we have the following thought expressed no less than four times—

"O God, thy Arm was here ;  
Not unto us, but to thy Arm alone,  
Ascribe we all."

Without insisting further on the heroic and favourable aspect in which Henry is so constantly set forth, it is sufficient to add that his weighty words occupy, as Mr Daniel has noticed, one-third of the number of lines in the play. Not content with this, Shakspere enhances his character, and brings it more prominently forth by contrast. Before the present play, Henry in his wild days and his worldly-sagacious father are contrasted. In this play two others are contrasted with him, the weak king of France and his arrogant, weak, and boastful, but do-nothing son. These throw out Henry the more, and also suggest the thought that France would be the better as well as England for a union of rulers. At the very outset the Dauphin's arrogance is shown by his insulting present, as is his father's weakness in allowing his ambassadors to convey such a

present and message. Whether we consider the present, or the message, or the rank of the sender—not a king but merely an heir-apparent—each incident is equally at variance with the customs and courtesies of nations. Passing over two other instances where the Dauphin is shown as self-opinionated and negligent, he on the eve of Agincourt is brought in, vain, boastful, and impatient, arming himself at midnight, and the first at morning-tide to cry, “à cheval.” What is the result? He is sneered at by the Constable, and we hear nothing more of him till the scene of defeat. Then the other princes despairingly rush to make a hopeless rally, and are either taken or slain. He talks, but is neither taken prisoner nor found among the killed—like Nym he had found the humour of it too hot, and skedaddled. On those who cannot see how as an acting play this drama is improved, I need not waste more words. And as to verbal or numerical accuracy there were not 60,000 (IV. iii., 3) but 60,001 men and semi-men.

But stay, say some critics so-called, you forget that Shakspere here nodded violently, and roused himself in the Quarto, for he had told us by the French king’s own mouth that the son was not to go to Agincourt, and that peremptorily. Did such amiable gentlemen never hear of a weak, doting old father who denied his son’s request, and denied it all the more peremptorily because of his weakness, and then—gives way? Sir Anthony Absolute and hundreds of others may be recommended to such as studies. Had not the play been already long enough, the discussion might have formed a scene in it. As it is, it is left to the intelligence of the auditors’ eyes, who having heard the denial, saw the son there, and saw in this another instance of the father’s weakness. So in *Macbeth*. A bleeding soldier attired as a Captain enters, and Malcolm says, “This is the Serjeant.” The audience at once understand—though some editors do not—that one, a serjeant when he rescued Malcolm, had since been promoted for this very rescue, and understood it as readily as though they had seen him invested.

The view has, I know, been advanced that the Dauphin of these scenes (III. vii., IV. ii.) is the Sir Guichard Dauphin numbered among the slain, but this is so plainly contrary to the words he uses,

and those used to and of him, that in presence of such an audience I do no more than notice its absurdity.

2. Again, why do we have this deviation from history? ‘The Constable stays but for his guard, and then determines to go on without them, and take his banner from a trumpet.’ Holinshed says that some went without their servants, and that the Duke of Brabant took a banner from a trumpet. Simply that Shakspere went upon the proverb, “Like master, like man.” He gave a more vivid picture of the haste and over-confidence of the French by representing the Constable of France, the commander-in-chief of the army, as doing both; and both could readily occur to one man, since if the guard were wanting, the ensign or banner would be wanting also.

3. A third error is, that whereas Westmoreland was, according to history, the guardian of the marches during Henry’s absence, Shakspere in the F. brings him to France. What has this incorrectness to do with the history narrated in the play, or with its plot? Had Shakspere said that he was to be guardian of the marches, and then brought him to France, there would have been an inconsistency. But as it stands, the Earls of Denbigh or Salisbury, or any other Earl or Marquis, might have been the keeper of the marches. It is only another instance of the misconception that Shakspere wrote his *Henry V.* simply as an educational primer. As I have said, in 1599 Shakspere’s company was probably small: without any doubling of parts the Q. contains less characters than the F. by ten or thirteen. When therefore Shakspere was revising his play in more prosperous times—say, for instance, when they were the King’s players—he added amongst others the name of Westmoreland, just as he brought in good old Sir Thomas Erpingham. In confirmation, I would call attention to the fact that all Westmoreland’s speeches are short, and but one a little out of the ordinary, and that only intended as a prelude to Henry’s magnificent speech—

“Who wishes for more men from England?”

Still further confirmation is to be found in this and in another passage. Harry, further on in this speech, which in the Q. is caused by Warwick’s remark, and is at first addressed to him, says in the F.:

“Then shall our names,  
Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,  
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester,  
Be in their flowing cups freshly remembered.”

Could Henry have so markedly omitted his *cousin* Westmoreland whose hasty words he has taken up? Similarly, in V. ii., on the inquiry of the King as to the results of the conference between his Lords and the French King, Westmoreland is the first to reply—

“The King hath granted every article.” (l. 333, &c.)

But earlier, when (l. 84, &c.) Henry appoints his Commissioners, he, omitting Westmoreland, says—

“Goe Uncle Exeter,  
And brother Clarence, and you brother Gloucester,  
Warwick and Huntingdon go with the king.”

Do not both these omissions go strongly to show that Shakspere had changed and increased his characters, but had forgotten to alter these texts; and that the Folio is the later version?

I turn now to the more important of the parallel passages of Q. and F. which exhibit a difference, avoiding all evidence from the silence of the Q. except where it is clear from the structure of the phrases that this silence is not due to an omission on the part of the Q., but to an augmentation in the Folio. In all I think it will at once appear that the latter shows signs of improvement and not unfrequently of augmentation, both of the thought and of its expression. The line references are always to the Folio, and when parallel passages are quoted without other reference the first is the Q., the second the F. reading.

I. ii. ll. 11, 15. The King would appeal to his Archbishop as to a learned man whose piety and truthfulness to both his God and king will guide him to “unfold why,” &c. Q. has

“good, my Lord,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And God forbid, my wise and learned Lord.”

The Folio—

“My learned Lord,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And God forbid, my deare and faithfull Lord.”

Nor need I do more than call attention to the great verbal improvement of "unfold," F., over "proceed," Q., as the latter might merely imply that he is to rehearse before the assembly arguments and conclusions as to which he and Henry were already in accord. So in l. 14 no legal impediment need "stop" a wilful man, but it could legally "bar" him. L. 16, "wrest the same"—"bar your reading." The latter gets rid of the tautological "fashion, frame," and of the unintentional rhyme with "clayme" (l. 14); gets rid of the impression given by Q., that the claim was already a foregone conclusion; follows more naturally the words "learned lord" and ll. 11, 12; improves the phrasing, for it is better to speak of wrestling your reading than of wrestling a claim; and leads the way more naturally to ll. 17—19. Hence the change was an after-change, and probably ll. 17—19 an after-addition. Passing by slight but material verbal changes in ll. 24, 31, 32, and merely saying that the change of "in" to "with" in l. 34 is a great improvement, for sin washed *in* water is still sin, while its being washed *with* water denotes more actively a cleansing power, and at the same time makes the washing or baptism a mere instrument—passing by these and others, including the change of "causes" to "Titles," l. 96—I would call especial attention to l. 101, where we find "son" altered to "man." The latter is the word in the text referred to, Numb. xxvii. 8, and is more general, for the Q. seems merely to speak of the inheritance descending to the daughter when there has been a son—who has died. Again, in l. 138, "arme us against" is less expressive of Henry's attitude with regard to France than "arme to invade;" and so, in l. 139, is "for" instead of "against," in reference to Scotland; so "The Marches will guard your England," is better replaced by "They of those Marches" shall be "a wall to defend our in-land," for, to enlarge only upon one point, it is the people, and not the nature of the Marches, that are to defend them.

While, also, I do not say that "unmaskt his power for France" was very happily altered into "went with his forces," l. 149, yet the latter avoids the imputation that his great ancestor took the precaution and had the cunningness to go suddenly and secretly into France as fearing either it or Scotland, or both. So far it is an

improvement, though perhaps hurriedly carried out, as I shall endeavour to show by and by was probably the case. Then in l. 156, "trembled at the brute hereof," as reflecting too much on the "hardy English," is altered into "trembling at th'ill neighbourhood." In l. 167 can the least poetical not see which word is the better, "shiplesse" or "sum-lesse," especially when the former is but the repetition of "sunken wrack"? In l. 171 "unfurnisht" is a wrong epithet and "unguarded" a right one, for the very reason that draws the weasel is that the nest is *furnisht* with eggs. In l. 174 "spoyle and havocke" is liable to be taken—if spoyle be adopted in one sense in which it can be used—as a mere reiteration, hence Shakspere changed it to "t—(I believe 'take') and havocke." Nor—looking to the aim of his simile—do I envy the man who cannot see the improvement from "Congrueth with a mutuall consent" to "congreeing in a full and natural close," like musicke. Also "live" changed to "work," l. 189 (noting the previous "obedience"), and l. 199, "maiestie behold" to "maiesties surveyes," and l. 201, "lading" to "kneading," a change which also shows that ll. 202-3 were then added.

I now come to ll. 206-15, on which I dwell a little, partly because Dyce has, I think, mangled his text. Observe the differences: In the Q. the "20 actions" afterwards become "a thousand," and these actions "end in one moment." In the Folio "many" and "a thousand" are not contradictory numbers, while "end in one purpose" is a phrase much more germane to his argument and intent. But there is more: the Folio says that things that seem to work "contrariously" really tend to one purpose, an addition that greatly increases the appositeness of his similes. Dyce saw these things, and so far retained the readings of F. But in ll. 209-11 he followed the Q., introducing in l. 210 Lettsom's conjecture of "streets" for "wayes." Probably he was influenced by the more poetically sounding "flye to one marke" instead of "come to one marke." But as to the repetition of "wayes," he takes no notice of the fact that Shakspere has used other repetitions in this passage, apparently to mark the better the oneness of his similes. We have "several,—several" in the Q., "meet,—meet" in the Folio. Next, as to

“flye” and “come.” One necessity of poetic phraseology, and one that over-bears mere sound, is, that it should express its meaning fully and explicitly. Now “come” does this. It does not follow that because arrows are loosed in several directions that they should all arrive at one mark, but the “come” shows this predetermined purpose, and also tells the audience distinctly that he is speaking of “roving” where marksmen let loose from different parts of the field, or “contrariously” and suddenly, upon one then fixed-upon mark.<sup>1</sup> “Therefore, my Liege, to France” is tamer and much less suited to the more vehement peroration of the speaker than “Therefore to France, my Liege,” l. 215. “Beaten,” l. 221, is poorer and less suited to his simile than “worried”; so, considering the words that follow—“or make it,” “bring”—l. 224 is well supplanted by “bend.” In ll. 236-7, in which are Henry’s qualities of quick resolve, openness, and courtesy best shown—

“Now are we well prepared to know the Dolphin’s pleasure,”

or in

“Now are we well prepared to know the pleasure  
Of our faire Cosin Dolphin.”—?

Besides, the latter shows more distinctly that neither Henry nor his council had an idea of the insulting nature of the message and gift. So in l. 244 can there be a comparison between

“To whom our spirit is as subject,”

or between any possible emendation of this, and

“Unto whose grace our passion is as subject”?

Nor, if we compare ll. 249-51, can it, I think, be doubted but that the Folio shows additions, not that the Q. lines are a curtailment. “This the Dolphin saith” is less apologetic, and therefore less in character with those who at first hesitated, than “This the Dolphin speakes.” Is not also

“Your message and his present we accept”

<sup>1</sup> I would add, that while I formerly accepted the general consensus that Dyce was a most judicious editor, several circumstances have made me loose that opinion. Correct he may have been, but he was not unfrequently injudicious, and was ever over-ready to vary.

a much less felicitous phrase, and one more open to misconstruction, than the slightly hidden irony of l. 264—

“ His present and your *paines* we *thanke* you for ” ?

In l. 284 the change of “ I ” [Aye] to “ Yea ” seems trifling ; but it shows that the Q. “ we ” was changed into the F. “ I,” not the “ I ” into “ we.” What may have been the cause of this change may be doubtful, but it is clear that the occurrence of—I will rise—I will dazzle in ll. 282 and 3 made the “ Aye ” of 284 uneuphonious, hence Shakspere changed it to “ Yea.” In l. 287 “ sit sore charged ” is less appropriate, less legal, and less scriptural than “ stand sore charged.” So, l. 288, “ from ” is less emphatic and menacing than “ with,” and “ many a wife ” less emphatic than “ many a thousand widows.” I do not quote l. 298 because the words “ in peace ” may perhaps have been omitted in the Q. copy. But as the change of “ See them hence ” to “ Fare you well ” certainly is, it may have been an improvement meant to set Henry’s character, as always, in a favourable light. Then in l. 308 ambiguity is avoided and the phraseology improved by the change of

“ \* let our *collection* for the wars be soon *provided* ”

to

“ \* let our *proportion* for these warres  
Be soone *collected*. ”

II. Chorus. Here I agree with Knight’s view, adopted by Dyce and Lettsom, that ll. 31-2, belonging to the Chorus as originally written, were afterwards replaced by the eight following lines, but that both were inadvertently retained. II. i. The “ Godmornings ” of ll. 1, 2 do not express so well the relative ranks of Bardolph and Nym as “ Well met ” and “ Good morrow.” Nym’s speech, ll. 4—9, shows, I think, not omissions in Q., but additions in F. Compare l. 42 with l. 19 F., and this also shows there are alterations in the sequences of the dialogue, where, as in ll. 19—24, Nym’s murderously-expressed intentions come as a climax, or rather as an anti-climax, and prepare us for the ensuing ludicrous scene when Pistol and his spouse appear. In ll. 31-2 “ bed and board ” are changed to “ lodge and

board," because the too virtuous Quickly would not in "such a contumation" think of using the prurient word "bed." Her "Good Corporal Nym" is very properly made a separate speech in l. 41. The "wilful murder and adultery" stands out better by itself at l. 36, and the appeal is also better by itself, and comes better after Pistol's braggadocio. So, by the way, "by gads lugges" is not so ludicrous in the mouth of a braggart as "by this hand I swear," ll. 28-9; while the latter affords an example of what can be traced throughout the play, the not uncommon omission in the Folio of mere expletive oaths, an omission more called for and carried out a little after James's accession than in 1599. Pistol's "solus" speech, ll. 44-9, has been clearly added to and revised in the F. so as to make it more absurd and laughable. There is a mixture of metaphors: "nastie" is a better, because a lower, epithet for mouth than "messful," and there is a use of maw and mouth, unconscious that they are synonyms. L. 42 Q. is improved in l. 49 F. Again, in l. 57, "groaning" is replaced by "doting," which is better, inasmuch as it better keeps up the alliteration which Pistol affects, and is more exceeding good senseless. In l. 52 "fall foul" is well changed to "grow foul," for the former denotes action, whereas Pistol, here as elsewhere, talks but never acts. Can anyone hesitate in l. 60, in such a colloquy as this, between "I'le kill him" and "I'le run him up to the hilts"? The acute boy was aware of the late change when he altered "Hostes," &c., to "Mine Hoast Pistoll," and placing him first, calls his former hostess "your Hostesse." Ll. 83-4 F.—"Why the devil," &c., come in much better here than at l. 16 Q., and the phrase "Be enemies with me too" is better placed in F. at l. 96. In ll. 107-10 "soul" is changed to "heart" in the mouth of the mundane Quickly; "troubled" is far better expressed by "shake," considering that she is speaking of a fever, and though "tashan contigian" is an absurd accumulation of blunders such as she constantly makes, these absurdities would not gain so ready an appreciation with a then audience as "quotidian tertian."

II. ii. The analogue in Q. of l. 16 seems like the natural close of the speech. But l. 16 itself seems to be changed so as to require or allow of ll. 17-18. These, therefore, should be counted as additions;

but even supposing they are not, yet the change in l. 16 must be counted an improvement. "Shine," in l. 36, was at first naturally suggested by "steeled," and by the thought of the limbs shining with the perspiration of toil; but the simile is somewhat discordant, and "toyle" is to my ear far more emphatic and deceitful. In l. 42 we have "heate of wine," and in F. "excesse of wine." Why is there a change? Because heat of wine makes one blab out incautiously what he thinks, excess of wine makes a man say that which he does not think. The change of "state" to "person," l. 58, unquestionably shows a more matured thought. It is impossible also to read ll. 71-5 and not see that in the F. they have been augmented, and as I think improved. Neither can there be many, if any, who will not pronounce l. 80 F. to be a great improvement of l. 60 Q., both lines showing without a doubt that they are printed as written. Ll. 86-8 are clearly also a later enlargement. "Vilde" also of Q. is too much opposed to "Belonging to his Honour," while "and *this* man," with action suited to the word, is more expressive than any adjective, and accords better with Henry's dignity than calling names like a boon companion of Pistol. In ll. 100-1,

"Can it be possible that out of thee  
Should proceed one sparke that might," &c. (Q.)

and

"May it be possible that *forraigne hyer*  
Could out of thee extract one sparke of *evill*  
That might annoy my finger?" (F.)

observe the various beauties introduced, especially in *forraigne hire* and *spark of evil* which necessitate the change of "proceed" to the more forcible and telling "extract."

Passing over various other things, and merely noting the far greater accuracy of thought involved in the change of "redress" to "revenge," l. 174, and to the improvement of l. 185 over "since God cut off," of Q., I pass on to

II. iii. Here there is evidently an augmentative change in F. of Bardolph's speech, ll. 7-8, as shown by the change of Dame Quickly's answer from "Aye" to "Nay," &c. This speech of Bardolph's thus altered also proves that a change has in the Folio been made in

Pistol's previous speech. How much more natural also is the F. in ll. 31-2, and in Bardolph's, 41-2.

II. iv. In l. 29 Q. we have "a sceptre guided," but a sceptre, though "borne," is not guided; besides, his argument is, that Harry did not and could not guide his course, so the word in the Folio was omitted. The Constable in l. 32 F. uses a phrase of the same import as in Q., but more courtly and respective. Nobility of character, l. 35, is a quality of more importance in a Councillor than mere age, and l. 37 is an immense improvement in sense and in every other way over l. 19 Q. L. 20 Q. is a proof that ll. 32—48 F. are an after expansion. In l. 136 it is evident that the line was altered to admit of the addition "and Vanitie" for the corresponding line of the Q., and the next one scan rightly.

III. ii. ll. 1—9. In Q., from Nym and Pistol's speeches, "hot," "hot," there is an evident change in F., nor can any one doubt but that the latter is the revised form as shown by simple inspection. What makes this more plain is that the Q. "'Tis honor," &c., is in F. also improved and removed to l. 23. The change of "honor" to "fame" in l. 11 shows that the previous speech is correctly given in both versions, besides that "the humor of it" is Nym's special phrase. But I think none can help preferring the enlarged folio speech of Pistol or the dialogue before it. So if any one will consult the Q. attentively, he will see that ll. 25—38 F. are new additions, while the corresponding phrases elsewhere have their ludicrousness or wit increased. The change in III. ii. l. 50 of "defensive" into "defensible" is an intentional change, for Shakspere makes the governor refer to a well known rule of war that a city that resists when no longer defensible, *ipso facto*, gives itself over to spoil.

III. iv. Here, though the French of both is corrupted, we have in the Q.—

"Alice venez ici, vous avez été en Angleterre, vous parlez fort bien l'Anglais."

In the Folio—

"Alice tu as été en Angleterre, et tu parlais bien le language."

Here she "tutoies" Alice because she is her nurse; and because she

would put her in good humour. Secondly, she uses "parlais" and not "parle," a cunningness of Shakspere as to the present enmity. Thirdly, as not yet Queen of England, but a foreign enemy, she avoids the double use of Angleterre and Anglais. There is a second change which leads to the same conclusion that the Folio was a revised version. Alice says that the Princess will learn "en petit temps," but the Folio has the more correct and idiomatic—"en peu de temps." Thirdly, it is unlike an abbreviated copy to displace, as is done in the Q., the elbow from its natural sequence as it occurs in the Folio.

III. v. In l. 2, 5, Q., we have "Mort de ma vie" and "Mort Dieu," but Shakspere, thinking these too much alike in English mouths and ears to be used by different persons, substituted in ll. 5, 11, F., "O Dieu vivant" and "Mort de ma vie." As in l. 9 the Constable would hardly admit that the English could "outgrow" their grafters, he alters it to "overlook." Can any one compare ll. 18—20 F. with ll. 12-13 Q., and not see that the former is the more matured form? Or in ll. 22-3, are not "Honour of our names" and "frozen Icesickles" comparatively poor to "honor of our Land" and "roping Icycles" (upon our Thatch)?

III. vi. If there be any that will maintain that the Q. is the improved version of Fluellen's speech, ll. 6—15, I can only say, that such an ancient is of "no estimation in the 'orld." One instance, Shakspere had had "Ensigne," but remembering that Falstaff was dead he made Fluellen describe him by his insignia as an "Ancient Lieutenant." I note also as before the excision of the expletive oath "by Ghesu." Nor can there, I think, be much doubt as to the priority in point of time of "furious fate" and "Fortunes fickle wheel" over "cruel fate" and "Fortunes furious fickle wheel"; or of "let not death his windpipe stop" over "let not Hempe his Windpipe suffocate." Can one doubt which are better Pistolese? Ll. 57-8 Q. are omitted in the Folio. Why? The simple answers seem to be—1. That there was too much repetition of the "fico." 2. That Shakspere saw that he could not consistently allow the choleric Fluellen to keep his temper under such continued insolence. The phrase, the fig of Spain, in itself a most opprobrious and

contumelious allusion, was repeated three times, and each time with aggravations; he therefore contented himself in his revised copy with the curtailed second one, "The figge of Spaine." Is it not too more consistent for the braggart coward to utter his contumelious words but once and as he goes off? This exit follows the fashion of his stage heroes, and avoids, as far as possible, his being called to account. Again, l. 79, "I do perceive he is not the man hee would gladly make shew to the world hee is" (F.) is, I take it, an improvement of the Q. reading. Certainly no one, I think, would maintain that the Q. version is here an improvement of the Folio. Neither is there, I think, any comparison between "his army is too weak" and the proud brag of the French king by Mountjoy, "the Muster of his Kingdom too faint a number," l. 126. Lastly, the change in l. 167 of "beyond the bridge" to "beyond the river" shows that l. 166 is not an omission in the Q., but an addition in the F. version.

III. 7. Here let any one compare ll. 11—18 and ll. 20-5 with the Q., and if he cannot see most evident marks of elaboration I need try no more to convince him. He cannot be persuaded 'gainst his will.

IV. i. In ll. 131-6 are alterations, augmentations, and, I hold, improvements, as in the transpositions of the Q. phrases "wives rawly left" and "children poore behind them." So in the king's speech, l. 144, &c.; and it must be remembered, here as always, that if my possible opponent cannot see any improvement in the Folio to justify the view I uphold, he is bound by his argument to find an improvement in Q. over Folio, or allow that Shakspere's revisals were not as a rule improvements. In ll. 163-5, if one examines the lines carefully, he will find evidence of after increase, and of elaboration of expression.

"Now if these *outstrip* the law,  
Yet they cannot escape Gods punishment."

"Now, if these men have *defeated* the Law, and *out-runne*  
Native punishment; though they can *out-strip* men,  
They have no *wings to flye* from God" [Ps. cxxxix. 9].

In ll. 308-10 we have in Q. four "stays." The absence of three of these in F. renders the double meaning of the fourth more con-

spious, and the “I know thy errand” brings out the king’s rapidity of thought, and close scanning of his actions.

IV. ii. If the alterer were ignorant, he must at least have known one thing, what parts were likely to take with the multitude. Could he then have excised the *whole* of this scene, including the Constable’s speech, ll. 15, &c., and Graundpree’s? And here I would take occasion to make the same general remark as to the comic portions. Nym Pistol, Jamy, and Macmorris were the very ones to take the commonalty and make them tickle o’ the sear, yet, on the theory of mere excision, these parts have been wofully shortened and cut into more ordinary talk.

IV. iii. ll. 3, 4. There is improvement in the change of “yet” into “besides,” and in the transposition of the actual numbers and the proportion. In l. 5 Salisbury’s “The odds is all too great” is rightly altered to “Tis a fearefull odds,” for despondency is neither consistent with his character as immediately portrayed, nor was it our author’s wish to exemplify the English by Salisbury and Warwick (Westmorland, F.), as despondent. In ll. 43-6 the transposition of “sees old age” and “comes safe home” greatly improves the speech, because it then follows the natural sequence of thoughts and events, and leads more naturally to the next thought, “Will yeerely,” &c. So from l. 49 the sequence is more natural. Harry first speaks of the good man as feasting his neighbours; then he talks over the occasion of it, shows his scars, tells of his own doings, remembers with affection his leaders, lastly, drinks to the health of all who fought. But, not content with these yearly festivals, he at odd times teaches his son, as his son will teach his grandson. Compare this sequence with that in the Q. Again, in the line (l. 59)

“And from this day unto the general doome,”

Shakspere, seeing that the concurrent mention of the day of doome fell rather discordantly on the ear and imagination, altered it—at the same time making the rhythm better suited to the rest of the speech—to

“From this day to the ending of the world.”

Salisbury’s speech, ll. 69—71, cannot have been the original form

of the corresponding Q. speech by Gloucester. Observe the improvement from "might" to "could," l. 76. Omitting another passage, Mountjoy's speech cannot but be an augmentation of Q. Still more clearly, ll. 98—100 must be an augmentation, for there is a distinct increase of a second thought, that "many will yet die at home." The change of "bones" to "joyns," l. 126, allows of a more appropriate and effective action. In l. 132 the introduction of "humbly" emphasizes the then obedience of a York to a Lancaster who showed himself to all men a king.

IV. iv. Can any one imagine that the speech, ll. 20-3 Q., with its "cinquante ocios," or that its being addressed to the boy in the abjectness of the Frenchman's fear, is an improvement upon ll. 37-9 F.?

IV. vi. Is there any difficulty in deciding between York's body all (hasted for) "basted ore," and all "hagled over," l. 11, or between "blood" and "gore," l. 12? The correct scansion of Q. shows that ll. 21-3 are an augmentation, and a greatly improved picture which carries out the obedience just spoken of under IV. iii. 132. Omitting the "kist his lippes," as it may have been an omission in the Q. copy, I draw especial attention to the change of "argument" to "Testament," l. 27, as I would be almost content to rest the argument for the Folio being the later version on this change alone. Certainly on this taken with those in ll. 21-3. It necessitates also the noble change in l. 27 of "never ending" to "Noble-ending," an alteration equal to that in l. 9 of "honour dying" to "honour-owing." Shall I add, equal to the alteration in ll. 31-5?

IV. vii. It is mere waste of labour to point out to an attentive reader—and none other do I address—the improvements in the Folio version of Fluellen's speeches, especially in that ending l. 39. But I would notice, en passant, the slight but effective change in l. 55 of "And ride" to "Ride thou," the phraseology of an angry man in its emphasis, and in the disconnection of its clauses. From ll. 65-6 Q., as compared with F., ll. 73—80 have been at least transposed and altered, and in all probability increased and improved. For one cannot make l. 65 Q. agree with the last-named lines, or compare it with them. In ll. 134-5, 138-43, we have not only increase but

improvement, for they show more clearly the gradual rise of the choleric Welshman's indignation, until he somewhat forgets whom he is addressing. The Q. l. 134,

“It may be there will be harme between them,”  
cannot be compared with l. 172 F.,

“May haply purchase him a box a' th' eare,”  
especially as in both Q. and F. there follows l. 181—

“Follow and see there be no harme betweene them.”

In IV. viii. l. 21 compare “notablest peece of Treason” with “a most contagious Treason,” and ask one's self which is the more mirth-provoking, or which action—the single one of addressing the king, or where he first explodes freely before Warwick, and as a consequence allows himself to explode freely before the king? So in l. 55 Shakspere changed “impute” to “take,” as more fitting the speech of a common peasant or soldier.

V. i. One needs not point out the evident alterations and improvements in Fluellen's speeches throughout. I would merely draw attention to the change of “the other day” to “yesterday,” l. 9, one of those apparently slight changes which marks Shakspere's improved attention to Fluellen's character. Also to his omission, after his first salutation, of Pistol's name and rank, and the substitution at first of such epithets as “Scurvie lowsie knave,” and the like. The phrase “Antient Pistoll” is five times omitted in F., and when his anger is satisfied at his piquant revenge, he no longer uses the other opprobrious terms. He is satisfied with himself, and has ocularly proved his adversary to be a scurvy knave beneath contempt.

V. ii. l. 1—8. The scansion of the corresponding four lines of the Q. seem to me to show that these eight lines are an augmentation in F., not omissions in Q. Cf. l. 22 with ll. 2, 3 F. as a first example, and then take the rest one by one. In like manner it is impossible not to see, by a close comparison of Burgundy's speech, even by what is given us in the Quarto, that some of it as it appears in the Folio is not a mere retention, but an alteration for the better. He does not ask what has kept them from the gentle *speech* of peace, but why the

"mangled Peace should not recover her native loveliness." In l. 79 we have the improved change from "Oreviewd" to "O're-glanct," and "let" to the better "appoint." Are not ll. 204-9 far better so far on in their interview than just at the commencement of it? are not ll. 36—40 of Q., and ll. 160-9, better placed than at ll. 83—92 Q.? Referring back to my remarks on III. iv. I would note the F. correction of "Heritier" for the Q. "Heare," l. 341. No one will deny that ll. 343-7 are much better in the Folio, especially ll. 344 and 345.

Having thus examined the two versions in most of their chief points of difference, leaving many minor ones, and not improbably some as great, unnoticed, and having omitted all portions where the counter-argument of curtailment might be opposed to me, I would conclude with the following observations. Having gone through both very carefully, I believe that what has been said is a fair specimen of all that might have been said. If very occasionally it be thought that there may have been a change in favour of the opposite view, I would say—(a) That the majority, and here there is an immense majority, carries the day; (b) That the reader may be of one opinion, while Shakspere may have been of another; (c) That as it is humanum errare, so even Shakspere's second thoughts may not always have been his best.

II. It now remains to inquire, When was the Quarto version revised? This seems at once answered by the fact that it is the Chorus before Act V. in the Folio that gives us the 1599 date. But after strenuous endeavours to make the other facts agree with this I have been compelled to a different conclusion, and now hold that it is the Q. that represents the 1599 version, and that the Folio is a revise of later and Jacobean date. I cannot pretend to fix the exact time, but my impression has, from the facts that have come before me, gradually deepened almost into a conviction that the Folio version was originally played before Prince Henry and, it may be, the rest of the Royal Family. Not improbably, though this is a mere guess after Shakspere had gained greater favour by his *Macbeth*—in my belief his one strictly political play and the second he wrote at, at least an implied, royal command. Nor do I think it unlikely that it may have been in 1610, when Henry, in his sixteenth year, was with

great pomp and solemnity knighted, made Prince of Wales, and given a household at St. James's, then made the Prince's Court. Henry was noted for his addiction to martial exercises, and we cannot therefore think of a play more appropriate to be acted before him than one which set forth the most illustrious of English kings, his namesakes, in the most favourable light, as indeed the model of a hero-king. This would be, I hold, the greatest flattery that Shakspere could offer him, as well as a most patriotic act. I say most patriotic act, first as setting forth such an example to be followed; secondly, because the very reason that urged Harry to war was one specially applicable to the then times. Henry of Bolingbroke had suggested to his son that the rivalries and contentions of the Lancastrians and Yorkists could be best extinguished by a foreign war. James was in a somewhat similar position to Henry IV. Prince Henry gave promise of being a Henry V, and this latter's example was set forth as the most ready and effectual means of welding the so-called United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland into one real and compact whole. These considerations form an *a priori* argument for my view. But there are other arguments and probabilities drawn from facts.

1. Besides one or two probabilities already noticed in the preceding pages, my first reason for thus advancing the date of the second version lies in Nym's speeches. All know that the word "humour" was fashionable cant in 1598, and before and after that year, and that Jonson adopted it and ridiculed it in 'Every Man in His Humour' in 1598, and in 'Every Man Out of His Humour' in 1599. So here Shakspere makes it the favourite phrase of the low pilferer Nym. It is true that it occurs about as frequently in F. as in Q. But there is this difference: on the first two occasions on which it occurs in the Qo it is struck out in F., though the rest of the wording is the same, without the slightest necessity or improvement. Afterwards it is not so. My explanation is that Shakspere began to strike out a phrase, the "humour" of which had been lost, but after two such changes resolved on retaining it as a favourite saying which would individualize Nym, just as Fluellen was latterly individualized by "Look you now," and by "o' my conscience now."

2. A second is, that while oaths such as Harry's "God before" are

retained, various of the mere expletive oaths are expunged, more particularly the “by Geshu” of Fluellen. This looks as though it were re-written at a time when that feeling prevailed which gave itself vent in the Act of 1606—“Against those who jestingly and profanely take the name of God or of Christ Jesus in any stage play, interlude,” &c., &c. Both these arguments in themselves, perhaps slight, yet agree with one another, and also with those more important ones that follow.

3. The introduction of English, Welsh, Scotch, and, before the return of Essex, Irish captains in Harry’s army would in 1599 have been worse than out of place. History indeed tells us that Henry had Scotch mercenaries at Agincourt, but Scotland in Elizabeth’s reign was a hostilely inclined neighbour. Elizabeth would hear nothing of a Scotch successor, and on her deathbed, knowing that James was and would be her successor, made no reply, save that “no rascal” should succeed her. Her people, too, were antagonistic to the Scotch. Shakspere himself expressed but the general feeling when he said,

“We must not only arme t’ invade the French,  
But lay down our proportions to defend  
Against the Scot \* \* \* \*  
Who hath been still a giddy neighbour to us.”

And other phrases will recur to the reader. The introduction, therefore, of Jamy as a peculiar, but thoughtful, learned captain, who would “ligge i’ th’ grund” rather than not do good service before Harfleur, would have been in her time an unpleasant anachronism. Nor, so far as we know, was he introduced.

In like manner it was a marked anachronism in 1599, when Ireland was unconquered, and when Essex had been sent to subdue it, and had not yet succeeded, to introduce Macmorris. Neither on the 1599 view do we get an explanation of a point which had for years puzzled me—his explosion at the apparently inoffensive words, “your nation.” But after Mountjoy’s victories, 1600-3, it was no longer an independent nation, though a part, and a subdued part, of Great Britain. His rage was natural in a subdued Home-Ruler, and was understood and appreciated by an English audience, to whom its cause was a pleasant and satisfactory reminiscence. Under an English-

Scotch King of Great Britain and Ireland, Shakspere, whether as a patriot or an accepter of what had happened—though I prefer, in the case of one of so much intelligence, to adopt the patriot view—would naturally bring in the representatives of each kingdom. Were he exhibiting a model king before the darling and hope of the nation for his instruction, whether in peace or war, he would naturally desire—especially when James was considered too intent on preserving a coward peace—to hint at what the new kingdom could do. Instead of being anachronisms, Jamy and Macmorris would point to an acceptable moral as well as adorn a tale.

4. A fourth argument can be drawn not from an addition, but from a very significant omission. In the Q. I. ii. ll. 99-100 we have—

“[England] Impounded as a stray, the king of Scots,  
*Whom like a cayiffe* she did leade to France.”

But in the Folio the offensive words in italics were omitted. A clear proof, I take it, that this version was made after Elizabeth's death. With this may be coupled the last caution addressed in the Q. by Pistol to his Nell or Doll. This Shakspere in his more matured judgment, or out of regard for his audience, excised from the Folio version.

5. It might be urged also, in addition to the foregone arguments, that the execution of Cambridge and the rest was a justifying precedent for the execution of the Gunpowder Plot traitors, and thus gain a reason for the elaboration of the Folio from l. 104. Some, if not all, were accounted by many Roman Catholics, martyrs, and saints, and hence the greater necessity for an example of how “we our kinglom's safety must so tender.” As some slight proof, besides remarking that the Folio after the lines at 103, which conclude the Quarto version, are wholly occupied with “Treason, and murther,” I would ask whether these lines addressed to Scroope, 114-17, do not seem to glance at the Gunpowder Plot. I say glance, because otherwise I see no appropriateness in the last two lines.

“And other divels that suggest by treasons,  
Do botch and bungle up damnation,  
With patches, colours, and with formes being fetcht  
From glist'ring semblances of piety.”

6. Once more, though I have not sufficiently examined the question, nor have I data for comparison, I am yet inclined to believe that the extra syllable test, and that of the extra syllable at the end of the third foot, would bring out the same conclusion, namely, that the date of the Folio version is beyond 1599. Compare, for instance, V. ii. 5—

“ And as a branch and member of this stock ” (Q.)  
with

“ And as a branch and member of this Roy|alty ” (F.).

Here the diction is better and more courteous, and we have an example—to which at least one other can be added of the double extra syllable or 'lty, which is, I take it, a mark of late date.

7. Lastly, though also I have not sufficiently examined this change in the play, with reference to Henry's substitution very frequently of “ I ” and “ my ” in the Folio for the “ we ” and “ our ” of the Quarto, I would notice, that while James used the plural in his official documents, he adopted the singular form in his addresses or speeches to his Parliaments. The probable conclusion need hardly be pointed out that Shakspere either followed in the Folio an improved acquaintance with regal custom, or one more in accord with that of the reigning monarch.

One possible objection I would answer. Why should the allusion to Essex be retained? First, its presence is no proof that it was recited. As I believe that ll. 31-2 of Chorus II. were intended to be erased from the author's copy when ll. 33—42 were added, so I think it not impossible that these may in like manner have been inadvertently kept. Secondly, Shakspere as an Essexite — as I strongly believe he was—would naturally remember him with affection, and place his fate indirectly before Prince Henry, as in contrast with the execution of Cambridge, Scroop, and Masham, and of the Gunpowder Plot traitors. He would also be the more inclined to have him avoid in such matters the example of a queen, whom for some now unknown reason he, Shakspere, latterly cared little for, so little, that though he had praised her more than once before, and though he had been publicly incited by Chettle to write her elegy, he would write none.

III. I would conclude with a few words in favour of the belief that the Folio was not printed from Shakspere's MS., but from a playhouse copy. The words indeed will be few, but full of meaning. Heming and Condell's too general assertion was founded only on a few particulars. We know beyond a doubt that some of these plays were not printed from his MSS., and *Henry V.* can be added to the number.

We have at the outset—"Actus Primus. Scæna Prima." But there is no Scena Secunda throughout the play, and this though in other of his plays they are given continuously and often correctly. But the confusion is worse when we come to the Acts. Every one knows and sees that a Chorus preceded each Act; but in the Folio the Chorus before Act II., and Act II. itself, are made part of Act I. Its Act II. commences with what really was, and in our editions now is, Act III. Its Act III. is our Act IV. But as the copier or other would thus have only had four Acts, and knew that the proper number was five, he overcame the difficulty by making IV. vii. the commencement of an Act IV. This he did because he found there an entrance of Gower the Chorus-Prologue speaker only unfortunately he does not this time come in as such, but as an English Captain speaking to Fluellen. Act V. is of course by this means correctly marked.

A third matter is the ridiculous corruption of the French words and phrases. It is impossible that these could have been due to Shakspere himself, who, we know, was at least able to read the French Testament so as on opportunity to quote from it. Neither, if the passages be examined, can it be that the printer could have so ingeniously and continuously muddled the letters of the handwriting before him. There must have been more than one muddler. Here I would have concluded, but that it may be as well to add a few remarks on the position of III. iv. with reference to Mr P. A. Daniel's criticism at p. 294 of his Time-Analysis of *Henry V.* (N. Sh. S. Trans. '77-9, Part II).

IV. He says—" [this Scene (III. iv.) . . . seems out of place ; its time must be supposed within a day or two of Day 4, Act II. sc. iv. ; for since that time, as we learn in Chorus 3, the negotiations for this

marriage have been broken off. I accordingly inclose this scene in brackets, and refer it to the interval which follows Day 4]." I am not clear whether he means out of its proper place in the drama as originally penned by Shakspere, or merely out of place historically. If the former, I deem it a sufficient answer that it is in the same place in both Quarto and Folio, which, whatever view we take of their priority, *must* at least be taken as two distinct versions. As to the supposition that it is historically out of place, Mr Daniel himself, in his note at p. 298-9, has rightly said, "If we correct the dramatist at the bidding of history very little of his work would remain intact." Besides, I would ask, Is it likely that any one would at once announce to a daughter a bran new project, of the acceptance of which he is as yet ignorant? If I understand Shakspere's delineation of the French king aright, he was one of those weak men who (in theory) accounted his children chattels to be moved or removed at his pleasure; neither was he one likely to announce a project unless there were a likelihood of its acceptance. Is it also consonant with Shakspere's delineation of Katharine, or to his delineation of any high-born lady, to make her unmodestly, at the first glimpse of a marriage, run off to learn English before she knew that the English king, her father's enemy, would even entertain the project? Besides, Mr Daniel forgets that, according to the text, Harry had already taken Harfleur; the situation—with the remembrances of the Black Prince and his father to back it—was becoming serious; the tennis balls had turned to gun-stones of power; Burgundy, for aught we are told, was already labouring with "all his wits, his pains, and strong endeavours" to bring about a reconciliation. Hence a sacrifice to patriotism, if nothing more, was required. By this, even alone, she was led to entertain the subject seriously. If, therefore, Shakspere thought a comic scene required between III. iii. and v., and thought that the Pistol scenes might well be varied, I do not see that we are called to quarrel with his decision. With these remarks I conclude, merely adding that I have made them on the supposition that others, like myself, take Mr Daniel's proposed change as meant to be made in the sequence of the drama, and not merely as a supposedly necessary time adjustment.

B. N.

VIII. THE NUMBER OF WITCHES IN *MACBETH*, IV. I.

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

*(Read at the 61st Meeting of the Society, May 14, 1880.)*[*Thunder. Enter the Three Witches.*] (before l. 1.)

\* \* \* \* \*

[*Enter Hecat, and the other Three Witches.*] (before l. 39.)

THESE are the first two stage directions in this scene in the Folio of 1623. Although the three subsequent folios make corrections, and many attempts at correction, all print these words verbatim. Secondly, in the quarto of 1654—"As it is now acted at the Duke's Theatre"—usually called Davenant's version, though, except that it introduces new songs, it is a reprint of the first folio, errors included, these same directions are retained. Thirdly, in the quartos of 1686 and 1695—"As now acted at the Royal Theatre"—the Duke having become king—editions which may be called Davenant's, if any may be so called, and which form a greatly altered and interpolated version of Shakspere's *Macbeth*, have the same. Thus the actors, including the supposed Davenant, and Betterton, found no difficulty in, but rather approved of, these stage arrangements. I hold, therefore, that those editors who having formed the prejudgment that there could only have been three witches, found here merely an erroneous repetition, have themselves made an error in supposing that Shakspere's imagination or resources were unequal to the introduction of more.

Quotations from other plays have indeed been given where, on the entry of a second person, the first already on the stage is erroneously given as entering also. But, because we know that such directions must be wrong, there is here no visible or necessary

inconsistency or contradiction which pronounces this to be an error. Surely there may in this great display of magical power and pomp, where Hecate herself condescends to appear that she may dazzle, subdue, and delude an earthly potentate and valiant warrior, surely there may have been a second set of three witches. I therefore proceed to show to the Shakspere student sincerely desirous of trying to comprehend his author why, irrespective of the arguments just stated, there is a probability, and in some degree a necessity, for there being this second set.

Who was Hecate, and how did Davenant and Betterton conceive the scenes in which she appears? Hecate is the only one who has a name, and this alone shows that she was different in nature from the witches. So the first words on her first appearance in III. v. are—

*First W.* Why, how now Hecat, you looke angrily?  
*Hec.* Have I not reason (Beldams) as you are?  
 Sawcy, and over-bold, &c.

Whence it is clear that she herself is not a Beldam. It is also clear that as she immediately proceeds to order preparations for continuing that which she calls them saucy and over-bold for commencing, that she is a ruler over them, merely jealous of her prerogatives. Her next words prove both these things—

“ And I the Mistris of your Charmes,  
 The close contriver of all harmes,  
 Was never call’d.”

The ruler-ship is again shown in—

“ Your Vessels and your Spels provide.”

Note the “your”—

“ Your Charmes and everything beside.”

Again we hear—

“ And you all know, Security  
 Is Mortals’ chiefest Enemie ; ”

a phrase tending to show that she is something other than mortal.  
 Lastly, in II. i., it is said—

“ Now witchcraft celebrates  
 Pale Hecate’s offerings ; ”

thus showing that all witchdom offer to Hecate as to their deity. My reason for thus dwelling on Hecate's rank as a ruler over the witch world is partly because many readers of Shakspere necessarily ignorant of mythology might be led away by the odd reasonings of those who would interpret this scene. All classical readers know that Hecate was a name applied to three heathen goddesses, and all such false deities were in mediæval belief infernal spirits. Hence and because Hecate was more generally an epithet of Proserpine, she became Queen of Witchdom. Middleton takes the same view of her, and Davenant further distinguishes her, for while Macbeth is still made to address the witches as "black and midnight hags," he afterwards replies to Hecate's first speech by

"What e're thou art, for thy kind caution, thanks ;"

and thus shows that besides her being "pale" and not "black," she who stands apart, and in the back and not improbably higher ground, is so different from the rest, that he doubts—as Ferdinand did of Miranda—whether she were a mortal being or supernatural. If then Hecate be not a witch, but an infernal and ruling spirit, what meaning can "other" in "the other three witches" naturally have unless it mean three different from the first three?

Again, neither queens nor even noble personages ever appeared in Elizabethan days without attendants. When Olivia would receive the pseudo-Sebastian, Maria attends her. Shakspere would have committed a glaring breach of the most ordinary etiquette had Hecate the queen given her solemn reception to the King of Scotland without being attended by her bevy of attendants. Davenant brings out the difference of rank more distinctly before the spectator in III. v., for when, after her charge to the witches her little spirit calls for her, his stage direction is—*Machine descends*, showing that she was in a chair, throne, chariot, or cloud.

Now to two other probable reasons. 1. The three witches with Hecate give the unmagical and even number four; six and Hecate make up the mystic seven. If the play of *Macbeth* be looked into, it will be found that Hecate and the witches constantly employ uneven and mystical numbers. We have the three times three that

make up nine, the sow's blood that hath eaten her nine farrow, &c.; whence, by the way, I hold with those who have it that the second witch's *thrice* in IV. i. 2 is the repetition of the first one's

“Thrice the brinded cat hath mewed,”

and should therefore be pointed with a comma or semicolon after it, the *once* being the number of times that the hedge-pig has whined.

2. The increased numbers add not only to the pomp, but also to the variety and grotesqueness, of the scene. There is indeed neither evidence nor probability that they joined in the incantations round the caldron. They were young witches at nurse, unable as yet to go high lone, and being so, they were mute attendants on Hecate their queen during the magic rites and shows. But when Hecate—or, as in Davenant, the first witch—would delight Macbeth and “charm the air,”

“While you perform your antic round,”

they left their mistress, and joined the dance. How bare and unpicturesque would be a round performed by three, or as in Davenant by two; how heightened if six or five joined in, all either in one circle or in two, the outer stepping or rather contorting themselves now the same, now the reverse way, from the inner.

The only word that can be found fault with is *the*, because it may be said that these other three witches have not yet been seen. But, first, they may have been attendants on Hecate when she first appears in what Davenant calls the *machine*. Secondly, even if this were not the case, a writer conversant with the stage management would know that six witches had been prepared, and would naturally make the slip, if slip it can be called, and use *the* for the three still in waiting.

I repeat, therefore, that the only difficulty has arisen from the prejudgment of those reading critics who fancied that they could only have three witches to deal with, and that Shakspere had no more right to introduce three others than he had a right to fight out York and Lancaster's long jars with more than three or four ragged foils right ill disposed.

## NOTE ON K. JOHN, II. i. 455-7.

“*Bast.* Heere’s a stay  
That shakes the rotten carkasse of old death  
Out of his ragges.”

VARIOUS of the conjecturers and even some critics have expended a surplus portion of their ingenuity on the first line. Johnson suggested *flaws* in the sense of “gust or blast;” that is some of the storm of war being overpast, this peaceful proposal which comes like a great calm is likened by him—not by Shakspere—to such a sudden gust or flaw as, for instance, sunk the Eurydice. Spedding’s *storm* may be classed with this. His *story* is no better, for I know not how a calm, peaceful story can—as a story—shake Death out of his rags. Becket’s *say* adopted by Singer only requires mention to cause the usual result of his conjectures. Professor Karl Elze would support *bray*, thinking that it refers to the trumpet-note of defiance sounded by the citizens of Angiers. But he forgets two circumstances: 1. That the citizens answered neither of the summonses to a parley by a trumpet; 2. That no trumpet, if used, could then be called a note of defiance, and especially on this third occasion, when the sole intent is to propose a peaceful solution. It is to this occasion alone that the fiery but practical Richard, son of Cœur de Lion, can refer.

Let us now turn to the original. W. N. Lettsom will have it that “*stay* is perhaps the last word that could have come from Shakspere.” But he, though very ingenious and acute, is too fond of seeking that which will suit his own supposition of what Shakspere must have meant, instead of seeking for his author’s intent and meaning. Preferring this latter plan, I would say that *stay* is one of the best words that could have been chosen. The opposing armies have hurried up to engage one another, and the Bastard, taking part of his metaphor from this hurrying up, and continuing the line of thought expressed in his previous speech, “O now doth Death,” &c., speaks of Death as impetuously hurrying up in anticipation of great gala days. But now comes this sudden compromise, instead of “soldiers’ swords being Death’s fangs,” he, in his hot haste, has run

against an unexpected stay, an unseen impediment, as an impetuous boy runs against a man, post, or wall. If readers in this nineteenth century cannot remember their boyish days, they can at least remember the effects of a railway collision, which is enough in sober prose to shake one's rags off one's body, and, in the case of Death, would probably injure his scythe-handle.

An eminent Shaksperian—though it should be added a German one—has since written to me that “stay” in the senses of stop or hindrance is not given in our Dictionaries. I reply, that all I know of, from Cotgrave downwards, give these senses. Richardson, besides the meanings “to stop . . . to obstruct or hinder,” and besides giving quotations both of the verb and substantive in these senses from other authors, has this from Holland’s ‘*Pliny*’, b. ix, c. 27, where there are also two other examples of the verb—

“Our Stay-Ship *Echeneis*, *Trebius Niger* saith,  
is a foot long . . . and that oftentimes it stayeth  
[hindreth] a ship.”

Shakspere uses it too in *J. Cæsar*, IV. iii.—

*Lucil.* You shall not come to them.

*Poet.* Nothing but death shall stay me.

“A stay” in nautical or mechanical idiom is used in the secondary sense of “support,” because it stays or hinders the mast, &c., from falling. “This is a stay (hindrance)” is, too, a recognized phrase, like “It stays me.” Indeed, even if the substantive did not—as it does—follow the senses of the verb, as stop, the act of stopping, does the intransitive, and stop, the cause of stopping, or hindrance, the transitive form, every Englishman, besides Shakspere, would be entitled so to use them.

P.S. In accordance with the spelling adopted in these *Transactions*, the name wherever it occurs is spelled SHAKSPERE. It is due, however, to my own strong convictions to state, that I invariably wrote and write it SHAKESPEARE.—B.N.

Correction: page 71, After line 17 add --  
to Mrs Page's invitation

“let us every one go home  
And laugh this sport o'er by a country fire”;

## IX.

THE FIRST AND SECOND QUARTOS AND THE FIRST  
 FOLIO OF *HAMLET*:  
 THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER.

BY GUSTAV TANGER, PH.D.

(*Read at the 63rd Meeting of the Society, Friday, October 15, 1880.*)

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WHEN in 1854 Delius put forth his first edition of *Hamlet*, which he had based on the First Folio in preference to the Second Quarto, Tycho Mommsen (in Jahn's *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie & Pädagogik*, vol. 72, 1855, pp. 57, 107, 159) showed very forcibly how little *F<sub>1</sub>* deserves that honour, and how little Delius was aware of the true value and importance to be attached to either of those old editions. In criticizing Delius's *Hamlet*, Mommsen alleged most weighty reasons why we should think *Q<sub>2</sub>* a far better authority than *F<sub>1</sub>*: however badly *Q<sub>2</sub>* is printed, it is disfigured only by the hundreds of compositor's blunders (including some accidental omissions), whereas *F<sub>1</sub>* exhibits, quite apart from very numerous misprints, a large number of other corruptions of a more serious and deplorable kind, viz. errors of copyists, interpolations of actors, accidental as well as intentional omissions, and, last not least, the traces of Heminge and Condell's (H. C.) arbitrary criticism. Mommsen, in the articles just mentioned, has pointed out the true way of treating similar Shakspere-questions, and has besides set a splendid example to all Shakspere-critics by his excellent edition of *Romeo and Juliet* (Oldenburg, 1859), the *Prolegomena* of which I must gratefully acknowledge have exercised a great influence over my own inquiries into

the Hamlet-question. Mommsen there establishes the high probability, if not certainty, of Q<sub>2</sub> of *Romeo and Juliet* being printed from the poet's own MS.; and the tests afforded by his *Prolegomena* have been applied by the writer of the following pages to Q<sub>2</sub> of *Hamlet*. I have arrived at the conclusion (see *Anglia*, vol. iv. pt. 2) that *we may consider Hamlet, Q<sub>2</sub>, to have been printed from the poet's own MS. with as much right as Mommsen makes out with regard to Romeo and Juliet, Q<sub>2</sub>*. This appears from orthographical as well as grammatical peculiarities of Q<sub>2</sub>, especially from the orthographical treatment of the syncope, and from characteristic mistakes and inconsistencies in Q<sub>2</sub>,<sup>1</sup>—features which we find more or less effaced in the subsequent editions, and which can be easily and sufficiently explained only by the supposition that Q<sub>2</sub> was printed from the Poet's own MS.

I then proceeded to a close examination and collation of Q<sub>1</sub>, Q<sub>2</sub>, and F<sub>1</sub> (of Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub> I used Collier's facsimiles;<sup>2</sup> of F<sub>1</sub> the original copy belonging to the Royal Library in Berlin) for the purpose of once more checking Mommsen's above-mentioned inquiries into the relative value of Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub>, and of forming an opinion of my own concerning the much-discussed question, whether in Q<sub>1</sub> we possess a "first Shaksperean sketch" of our tragedy (though in a decidedly bad condition, perhaps from being a surreptitious edition),—or whether Q<sub>1</sub> be nothing but a pirated and garbled version of the authentic text as we possess it (however badly printed) in Q<sub>2</sub>.

Knight, Delius, Elze, Staunton, Dyce, and other renowned English Shakspere-scholars, each with smaller or greater modifications of his own, hold the former view; Collier, Lloyd, Grant White, and Tycho Mommsen are foremost among the advocates of the latter theory (see, apart from the above-mentioned publications, Mommsen's remarks in the *Athenaeum*, 7 Feb. 1857, reprinted in Furness's *New Var. Hamlet*, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26).

<sup>1</sup> These enquiries formed Part I of Dr Tanger's Paper originally, but as the Committee were not willing to print them, they will appear in Germany.—F. J. Furnivall.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Furnivall has prefixed to my references, the scene and line-numbers of Q<sub>1</sub>, and line-numbers of the Globe edition for Q<sub>2</sub>, as marked in his editions of Griggs's 'Facsimiles' and of Q<sub>1</sub>, and Q<sub>2</sub> 1879, 1880.

My own investigations have led me to join the latter side, and an opportunity being afforded me (by the Committee of the New Shak. Soc.) of submitting them to the judgment also of English critics, I shall try in Part I to show that Mommsen was right in believing Q<sub>2</sub> a better authority than F<sub>1</sub>, and in Part II that there is *no need* of believing in a '*first sketch*.'

For this purpose I shall first give a list of almost all the differences between the texts of Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub>, excluding only those which pertain to mere orthography and punctuation, and variations which would unnecessarily swell the list without being of any value for the settlement of our question. But before doing so, I cannot help observing that the Stage-Directions, which have not as yet been paid due attention to, seem to me to afford a remarkable point of evidence. I therefore subjoin a list of them.

### PART I.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

F<sub>1</sub>.

Act I. sc. i.

1. 1. 125] Enter Ghost.	1. 107] Enter Ghost againe
2. 127] It spreads his armes. <sup>1</sup>	wanting.
3. 138] The cocke crowes. <sup>1</sup>	

I. ii.

4. Florish. Enter Claudius, King of Denmarke, Gertradt he ( <i>sic</i> ) Queene, Counsaile: as Polonius, and his Sonne Laertes, Hamlet, cum Alijs.	Enter Claudius King of Denmarke, Gertrude the Queene, Hamlet, Polonius, Laertes, and his Sister, Ophelia, Lords Attendant.
5. wanting.	25. Enter Voltemand and Cornelius.
6. Florish. Exeunt all but Hamlet.	Exeunt. Manet Hamlet.
7. Enter Horatio, Marcellus, and Bernardo.	Enter Horatio, Barnard, and Marcel-lus.

I. iii.

8. Enter Laertes, and Ophelia his sister.	Enter L. and Ophelia.
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I. iv.

9. A florish of trumpets and two peeces goes off. <sup>1</sup>	wanting
10. 57] Beckins.	" " Ghost beckens Hamlet.

<sup>1</sup> Why are these managerial stage-business directions from Shakspere's MS. (see too 11, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 60, 74, 75), while 77 is not?—F. J. F.

Q<sub>2</sub>.F<sub>1</sub>.

II. i.

11. Enter old Polonius, with his man or two.  
 12. Exit Rey.

Exit

II. ii.

13. Florish. Enter King and Queene, Rosencraus and Guyldensterne.  
 14. 39] Exeunt Ros. and Guyld.  
 15. Enter Embassadors.  
 16. Exeunt Embassadors.  
 17. 115] Letter.  
 18. Enter Hamlet.  
 19. 214] Enter Guildensterne and Rosencraus.  
 20. 350] A Florish.  
 21. Enter the Players.  
 22.  
 23. 520] Exeunt Pol. and Players.

Enter K., Q., Rosinerane and Guildensterne cum alijs.  
 Exit (one line too early).  
 Enter Pol., Voltumand, and Cornelius.  
 Exit Ambass.  
 108] The Letter.  
 Enter Hamlet reading on a Booke.  
 217] Enter Rosincran and Guildensterne.  
 Florish for the Players.  
 Enter foure or five Players.  
 509] Exit Polon.  
 (The Players have no Excunt.)

III. i.

24. 28] Exeunt Ros. and Guyl.  
 25. 54] Enter Hamlet (too early).  
 26. 55]  
 27. Exit.  
 28. Exit (Ophelia).

Exeunt.  
 after l. 55] Enter Hamlet.  
 Exeunt.  
 Exit Hamlet.

III. ii.

29. Enter Hamlet, and three of the Players.  
 30.  
 31. after l. 42] Enter Pol., Ros., and Guyld.  
 32. 44]  
 33. 46] Ros. I my Lord. [Exeunt they two.  
 34. Enter Trumpets and Kettle Drumes, King, Queene, Polonius, Ophelia.  
 35. 132] Enter Prologue.  
 36. Enter King and Queene  
 36a.  
 37. 233] Enter Lucianus.  
 38.  
 39. Exeunt all but Hamlet and Horatio.  
 40. Enter the Players with Record v.  
 41.  
 42. 382] Exit.

Enter H., and two or three of the Players.  
 41] Exit Players.  
 before l. 42] id.  
 Exit Polonius.  
 Both. We will my Lord. [Exeunt.  
 Enter K., Q., Pol., Oph., Rosencrance, Guildensterne, and other Lords attendant, with his Guard, carrying torches. Danish March. Sound a Flourish.  
 138] Enter Prologue.  
 Enter King and his Queene.  
 217] brain. [Sleeps.  
 232] Enter Lucianus.  
 Powres the poysen in hi: eares.  
 Exeunt. Manet Hamlet and Horatio. (See No. 6.)  
 Enter one with a Recorder.  
 369] Polon. I will say so. [Exit.

Q<sub>2</sub>.F<sub>1</sub>.

## III. iii.

43. 26] Exeunt Gent.  
44. 35] Exit.

Exeunt Gent.

## III. iv.

45. Enter Gertrard and Polonius.  
46. Exit Ghost.  
47. Exit.

Enter Queene and Polonius.  
Exit.  
Exit Hamlet tugging in Polonius.

## IV. i.

48. Enter King and Queene, with Enter King.  
Rosencraus and Guyldensterne.

## IV. ii.

49. Enter Hamlet, Rosencraus, and Ob, heere they come. [Enter Ros. and others. Guldensterne.  
*Enter Hamlet* (is printed separately at the head of the scene).

## IV. iii.

50. Enter King and two or three. Enter King.  
51. Enter Rosencraus and all the Enter Rosincrane.  
rest.  
52. They enter. Enter Hamlet and Guldensterne.

## IV. iv.

53. Enter Fortinbrasse with his Army Enter Fortinbras with an Armie.  
over the stage.  
54. Exit (Fort.).

## IV. v.

55. Enter Horatio, Gertrard, and a Enter Queene and Horatio.  
Gentleman. (For *Queene* instead of Q<sub>2</sub> *Gertrard*,  
see also No. 45.)  
56. before l. 17] Enter Ophelia (too after l. 20] Enter Ophelia distracted.  
early).  
57. (Over the first line of the old (Here the songs are outwardly marked  
snatches sung by Ophelia we as such by being printed in italics.)  
read *shee sings*, and also afterwards we find *Song* printed beside the verses, even in Act V. i.)  
58. l. 34] Enter King. l. 32] Enter King (it seems too early).  
59. Exit (Oph.).  
60. A noise within. Enter Laertes Noise within. Enter Laertes.  
with others.  
61. A noyse within. Enter Ophelia. A noise within. Let her come in.  
Enter Ophelia.  
62. Exeunt Ophelia.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

## Fr.

## IV. vi.

63. Enter Horatio and others.  
 64. Enter Saylers.  
 65. 31] Exeunt.

Enter Horatio, with an Attendant.  
 Enter Saylor.  
 Exit.

## IV. vii.

66 Enter a Messenger with Letters.

Enter a Messenger (also with textual variations).

## V. i.

67. 62] Enter Hamlet and Horatio.  
 68. Enter K., Q., Laertes, and the corse.  
 69.  
 70. Exit Hamlet and Horatio.

53] Enter Hamlet and Horatio a farre off.  
 Enter K., Queene, Laertes, and a coffin, with Lords attendant.  
 Leaps in the graue.  
 Exit.

## V. ii.

71. Enter a Courtier.  
 72. A table prepar'd. Trumpets, Drums, and officers with Cushions. King, Queene, and all the state Foiles, daggers, and Laertes.  
 73.  
 74. 265] Trumpets the while.  
 75. 268] Drum, trumpets, shot. Florish, a peece goes off.  
 76.  
 77. (Q<sub>2</sub> omits the remaining stage-directions except 78, 79, and 80.)

78. 336] A march a farre off. Enter Osrick.  
 79. Enter Fortenbrasse, with the Embassadors.  
 80. Exeunt.

Enter young Osricke.  
 Enter K., Qu., Laertes, and Lords, with other Attendants, with Foyles and Gauntletts a Table and Flagons of wine on it.  
 253] Prepare to play.  
 270] Trumpets sound and shot goes off.  
 267 and 287] They play. Play. (Fr gives some more):  
 289] In scuffling they change Rapiers.  
 309] Hurts the King.  
 314] King Dyes.  
 318] (Laertes) Dyes.  
 345] (Hamlet) Dyes.  
 March afarre off, and shout within.  
 337] Enter Osricke.  
 Enter Fortinbras and English Ambassador, with Drumme, Colours, and Attendants. (For the singular Ambassador, see No. 64.)  
 Exeunt marching: after the which a Peale of Ordonnance are shot off.

There are a few stage-directions that do not differ at all in the two editions, e. g.

V. i., at the end, *Exeunt*. Or,

V. ii., 'Enter Hamlet and Horatio.' These have of course been left out in the above list.

Some instances (see Nos. 25, 31, 32, 56, 61, 68(?), 73, 76, 77), and some of the omissions, clearly show the inattention and carelessness of the Q<sub>2</sub> compositor; but upon the whole, the stage-directions go to show that they are from Shakspere's MS. Some of them are suggestive rather than exact; and that is just what we might expect of Shakspere, who, having his head full of the plot and dialogue, naturally dashed off most stage-directions in a somewhat hasty manner. F<sub>1</sub>, in such cases, generally takes greater care (see 34, 79), and pays particular attention to formalities, yet sometimes entirely neglects important features which are traceable in Q<sub>2</sub>. In No. 4 it was, no doubt, the poet's intention to represent Hamlet as entering dejectedly among the last persons appearing. F<sub>1</sub> effaces this trait, as it does a similar feature in 72. In No. 4 too we notice that F<sub>1</sub> makes Ophelia enter for the sake of stage-effect, for she has not to speak a single syllable, and seems altogether strangely out of place in this scene. It may have been the common practice then; and Shakspere may be supposed to have not seriously objected to such trifling departures from his original intention.

The words *Counsaille: as Polonius* are perhaps also worthy of remark, being probably so put by Shakspere to intimate the position Polonius occupies at the Danish Court. F<sub>1</sub> omits this characteristic. A similar thing we find in No. 11, where Q<sub>2</sub> calls Polonius *old*, whereas F<sub>1</sub> again puts the name without such an epithet. No. 13 makes it probable that Shakspere did not think it necessary to write in his stage-directions what was understood. F<sub>1</sub> is right in adding *Cum alijs*, for the King says: "goe, some of you, and bring," &c.; but Shakspere seems to have taken it for granted that kings are generally followed by a train of courtiers. A similar deficiency in details may be observed in Nos. 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 67. For 23, see below.

No. 33 also seems to point back to the poet.

No. 49 in Q<sub>2</sub> answers to the text, IV. i. 33: "Goe, joyne you with some further ayde." In 51, 'all the rest' probably means the 'others' of 49. 52 looks as if it had been written thus by Shakspere, supposing that Q<sub>2</sub> has dropped 'Guyldensterne' in the line: "How, (—) bring in the Lord," where *the* instead of *my* must be another blunder of the compositor.

No. 55. Shakspere originally wrote "Enter Gertrard and a Gentleman;" but to save an actor he afterwards altered—hastily it seems—so as to put Horatio instead of the Gentleman. His negligent alteration caused some confusion in the rubrics of the beginning of IV. v., and a strange inconsistency in the latter part of the piece, for a full account of which see *Anglia*, iv. 2.

It will be hard to account for what we read under 57, unless we suppose Q<sub>2</sub> to be printed from the poet's MS. It must be remembered that Q<sub>1</sub> does not in any way distinguish the songs from the common text. The words 'and others,' or 'with others,' occurring in 49, 60, 63 (compare also 50, 51), are replaced by more precise or formal terms in F<sub>1</sub>, and are in all probability owing to Shakspere himself.

We see that the Q<sub>2</sub> stage-directions possess a certain intrinsic value of their own, and deserve, as far as they are sufficiently complete, to be preferred to those of F<sub>1</sub>, which, as we shall see, may be important for stage-managers, and useful for the completion of deficient stage-directions in Q<sub>2</sub>, but can hardly be of any authority, *being for the most part not Shakspere's, but Heminge and Condell's*, who abstracted them from, and adapted them to, the text as well as they could.

The truth of the latter assertion will readily appear.

For No. 1, compare in the text: "Loe, where it comes *againe*."

Nos. 2 and 3 omitted, because the text leaves their places doubtful.

No. 4 has been spoken of above.

No. 6. Text: 'Come away.' Observe 'Manet Hamlet,' and compare 39.

No. 10. Text: "It beckons you."

No. 11 may be concluded from the rubrics.

No. 13. Spoken of above.

No. 15. Text: "Welcome good Frends:  
Say, Voltumand," &c.

No. 17. The actor who had to play the part of Polonius may have written 'Letter' in his part, where we find it printed in Q<sub>2</sub>. The real letter begins there. But H. C. evidently thought the

address also belonged to the letter, and thus put 'The Letter' before line 109.

No. 18. Text: "But looke where sadly the poore wretch comes reading."

No. 19. Text: "Pol. You goe to seeke my Lord Hamlet;" and the following rubric Rosin. explain the difference.

No. 20. Text: There are *the Players*.

No. 21. Stage-practice.

No. 22, 23. Pol. 'Come, sirs.' These words caused H. C. to think that an *Exit Polonius* was to be put here, and indeed, if this had not been a somewhat extraordinary case, their usual mechanical trick to supply the wanting stage-directions might have done them as good service as in other places, but unfortunately this passage requires some more attention. After Polonius's words: 'Come, sirs,' Hamlet dismisses the players: "Follow him, friends, weeble heare a play to-morrow." The players turn to go, and approach the door, while Hamlet takes one of them aside ("Dost thou heare me, old friend?"). The others, and Polonius among them (for *he* is not likely to stand without), linger about the door for a few seconds, till Hamlet has hastily whispered his few words to the player. He then dismisses him too: "Very well, follow that Lord," and they all go off almost simultaneously, so that the Q<sub>2</sub> stage-direction is certainly preferable to that of F<sub>1</sub>. The compositor having no space left for it, put it after *Elsonoure*, instead of after *mock him not*.

No. 34. Stage-practice.

No. 35. H. C. looked but superficially at the text, and put *Enter Prologue* just above the three prologue-lines, thus showing that they did not always rightly understand their text. Having thus put *Enter Prologue* in a wrong place, and thinking of the Dumb Show, they naturally believed they'd discovered a mistake in the text: "We shall know by *this fellow*," the more so, as they read immediately below: "The Players cannot keepe counsell, they'l tell all." In Q<sub>2</sub> the text goes on: "Will a tell vs what this show meant?" i. e. Will the Prologue tell? And Hamlet answers: "I, or any show that you will show him." H. C., continuing in their error, altered accordingly: "Will THEY tell vs what," &c., but did not extend

their attention to the following line, so that the answer in F<sub>1</sub> reads : “I, or any shew that you shew HIM”(!)

No. 36. Instead of Q<sub>2</sub> Queene, F<sub>1</sub> puts *Bap.*, as rubric for the *P. Queene*. Compare Hamlet's words : “his wife Baptista,” and see No. 45, above.

No. 37. Strictly following the text : “This is one Lucianus ;” hence the *Enter* of this character was put *before* Hamlet's last words, and not *after*, as might have been expected, considering H.C.'s usual procedure.

No. 38. Text : “He poisons him.”

No. 40. Stage-practice. Hence in the text : ‘*O the Recorder. Let me see.’* Q<sub>2</sub> ‘*o the Recorders, let me see one.*’ (See 64.) The coincidence appearing from 43 is of too trifling a nature to be of any weight here.

No. 45. The rubrics in Q<sub>2</sub> answer to the stage-direction : *Ger.* except l. 51, Queene : “Ay me, what art ?” The blunder of wrongly attributing the following line to Hamlet makes it probable that this inconsistency is the compositor's fault.

In F<sub>1</sub> : *Qu.* throughout the scene.

No. 48. Shows that Shakspere intended a new scene to begin here, whereas the common stage-practice seems to have been that the scene simply continues in the same room.

No. 49. See above. It is less troublesome for representation as F<sub>1</sub> has it.

No. 50. The text did not afford any hint as to the ‘two or three’ of Q<sub>2</sub>; so they are not mentioned in it.

No. 51. The same may be said of ‘all the rest.’ Ros. is the only speaker besides the king, until Hamlet appears, so H. C. could not well put a different stage-direction.

No. 52. Text : “Hoa (Guil登sterne ?), Bring in my Lord.”

No. 55. See above, p. 115. Stage-practice.

No. 56. Text : “She is importunate, indeed *distract.*”

No. 60. The ‘others’ of Q<sub>2</sub> are indispensable, since the Dances have actually to exchange a few words with Laertes. H. C. were again superficial here.

No. 64. See 40.

No. 66. Arbitrary alteration in the F<sub>1</sub> text. The King interrupts himself by asking : "How now? What news?" The messenger answers : "Letters, my Lord, from Hamlet. This to your Maiesty," &c. Is a messenger at all likely to speak to the King of Hamlet without giving him his title of *Prince* or *Lord*? H. C. probably took the King's exclamation for a partial repetition of the startling news, and interpolated accordingly, if the actor had not altered his part on his own account.

No. 71. Text: V. ii. 246 : "Giue them the Foyleys, young Osricke."

No. 75. In the text, so much stress is laid on the sound of trumpets and drums, &c., that H. C. could not help having their attention called to the necessity of a stage-direction.

Whether, in No. 74, F<sub>1</sub> be wrong or right in omitting a similar stage-direction, remains doubtful, as the text ("If Hamlet giue the first or second hit," &c.) seems to be in favour of F<sub>1</sub>.

No. 77, to I. 289. Reminiscence of the stage-practice.

To I. 309. Text: "Oh, yet defend me, friends, I am but hurt."

No. 78. Text: "What warlike *noise* is this?"

No. 79. Stage-practice.

No. 80. Text: . . . . for his passage :

"The Souldiours Musicke & the rites of Warre  
Speake lowdly for him. . . .

. . . . . Go bid the Souldiers shoote."

The above list shows that the knowledge of stage-practice, and more especially the text itself, were sufficient sources for H. C. to supply the F<sub>1</sub> stage-directions from, at least most of them. (See below.)

This fact, together with some other considerations, makes it probable that F<sub>1</sub> was printed from a MS. woven together from the different parts of the actors. Actors, when copying their parts, do not, as a rule, write out stage-directions which do not concern them particularly. This explains the circumstance that H. C. had to supply

most of the stage-directions. Further, we observe interpolations in F<sub>1</sub> (see the list below) which must be put down to the actors. Supposing now F<sub>1</sub> to have been printed from some complete copy of the piece belonging to the theatre, who would have entered such interpolations in that copy? Is it not much more probable that the actors, in writing out their own parts or in studying them, should have altered the words or phrases they objected to, according to their taste? Certainly H. C. cannot be expected to have remembered all those trifling variations, and to have inserted them when they prepared their Folio. Besides, the very circumstance that H. C. themselves indulged in alterations, or rather adulterations, of the text (see list below) seems to imply, that they had no very high opinion of the authenticity and pureness of their source. Thus it is all but certain that the above supposition as to the origin of the F<sub>1</sub> stage-directions and of F<sub>1</sub> in general is correct. I said that at least 'most' of the stage-directions are likely to have been got up in that way. There must have been a book containing the stage-directions without the full text in the possession of the theatre, and it is not impossible that H. C. should have found it useful here and there (the description of the Dumb Show was probably taken from it); but, upon the whole, its notes cannot be supposed to have been such as could be inserted in an edition of *Hamlet*. Thus II. C. naturally examined the text for hints which might aid them in their task. Hence we meet with numerous instances, showing in an unmistakable manner how H. C. proceeded, and how anxiously and often short-sightedly they followed the text. It might be objected, in spite of all the above arguments, that perhaps H. C. were in possession of the genuine stage-directions, but replaced them by their own, thinking that they needed correction as well as the text.

But whatever may be our opinion of H. C., nobody will think them capable of fancying that stage-directions, such as Nos. 6, 24, 29, 35, 36, 39, 45, 50, 53, 60, &c., in F<sub>1</sub>, were any improvements on those in Q<sub>2</sub>.

In the subjoined list of textual variations in Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> I have marked by

—, what seems to be a simple *accidental omission*;

=, what is probably an *intentional* omission, for the sake of shortening the representation of the piece;

||, what is probably owing to the negligence, inattention, or criticism of the *compositor*;

§, what is probably a *foul case*;

†, what seems to be owing to an interpolation of some *Actor*;

‡, what is probably due to the critical revision which the text received at the hands of H. C., when it was being woven together from the parts of the actors.

Of course, there will be some doubt left in several cases as to whether a variation ought to be marked || or † or ‡. Even in other cases it will be seen that it is difficult to arrive at a decision, if the variations are examined, not by themselves, but in the context. The marks, therefore, affixed to the different variations, can be only tentative in many cases, especially where I do not quite agree with Mommsen (*Jahrb.* Articles II and III.). It ought to be borne in mind that orthography and punctuation were paid more attention to by H. C. than anything else. The innumerable variations of this kind would have unnecessarily swelled the following list.

‘Q<sub>1</sub>,’ added to certain readings, means that the First Quarto confirms, or at least countenances, those readings.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

## Act I. sc. i.

F<sub>1</sub>.

14. Stand ho, who is there?	— Stand: who's there:
33.    What we haue two nightes seen.	What we two nights h. s.
43. Lookes a not like the King.	‡ it
46. Speake to it (Q <sub>1</sub> ).	‡ Question it, Horatio.
61. When he th'ambitious Norway combated.	— he wanting.
65. iump at this dead hour.	‡ just at . . .
73.    with such dayly cost.	why such (Q <sub>1</sub> .)
88.    all these his lands.	those.
89. stood seiz'd of.	‡ on.
98. lawlesse resolutes (Q <sub>1</sub> ).	Landlesse.
101. As it doth well appear.	and it.
103. compulsatory.	‡ compulsative.
. 108—126.	= wanting (also in Q <sub>1</sub> ).
138.    your spirits.	you spirits.
140. — shall I strike it.	at it.
150. trumpet to the morn.	‡ day.
Q <sub>1</sub> : morning.	

Q<sub>2</sub>.

## Fr.

158. Some <i>say</i> , that euer.	sayes.
160.    This bird of dawning dare sturre abraode.	<i>The Bird.</i> † can walke. Q <sub>1</sub> : dare walke.
163. No fairey <i>takes</i> , Q <sub>1</sub> .	talkes.
164.    so gratiouse is <i>that</i> time.	<i>the</i> time.
167. Eastward hill.	† Easterne.
174. Lets doot' (Q <sub>1</sub> : Lets).	Let.
175.    conuenient.	conveniently (-ly Q <sub>1</sub> ).

## I. ii.

8. sometime Sister.	sometimes.
9. ioyntresse <i>to</i>	† <i>of</i> .
11. <i>an</i> auspicious and <i>a</i> dropping eye.	‡ <i>one . . — and one</i> .
24. § bands of lawe.	Bonds.
35. For bearers of this greeting (Q <sub>1</sub> : For bearers of these greet- ings).	For bearing of . . .
57. — Hath my Lord, wrong from me my slow leaue. By laboursome petition and at last.	HE hath, my Lord : —wanting.
Vpon his will I seal'd my hard consent. (Q <sub>1</sub> : Cor. He hath, my Lord, wrung from me a forced graunt. And I beseech you, grant your Highnesse leaue.)	
67.    Not so <i>much</i> , my Lord, I am too much in the sonne. (The second <i>much</i> rang beforehand in the compositor's ear.)	Not so, my Lord. . . .
68. nighted colour.	‡ nightly.
77.    coold mother.	good mother.
82. ? chapes of griefe.	shewes of Griefe.
83.    denote me truly.	denote.
129.    sallied flesh (Q <sub>1</sub> : sallied).	<i>solid</i> .
132. ô God, God.	† O God, O God !
134. Seeme to me.	Seemes to me.
135. Fie on't, ah fie, tis. . .	† Fie on't? Oh fie, fie, 'tis . . . (metre destroyed). come to <i>this</i> .
137.    That it should come <i>thus</i> .	Why she, <i>even she</i> .
149. — Why she. . . .	‡ O Heauen.
150. O God.	<i>of</i> . (The compositor's eye caught the <i>of</i> in the line above.)
155. <i>in</i> her gauled eyes (Q <sub>1</sub> ).	† t. y. <i>to</i> drinke <i>deepe</i> (Q <sub>1</sub> ). to see my m. w.
175. teach you <i>for to</i> drinke.	
178. — it was to my mother's wed- ding.	
183. Or euer I had seene. Compare: 'or ere those shooes were old,' l. 147.	‡ Ere I haue euer seene.

Q<sub>2</sub>.F<sub>1</sub>.

(Q <sub>1</sub> : Ere euer I had seene that day Horatio.)	
204. distil'd.	bestil'd.
209. Whereas. (It ought to be 'Where as,' as in Q <sub>1</sub> .)	Whereas.
213.    Vpon the platforme where we watcht.	watcht.
224.    Indeede Sirs but this troubles me. See the following :	Indeed, indeed Sirs; (perhaps + Q <sub>1</sub> (do.)
237.    Very like, stayd it long.	perhaps †? Very like, very like. Q <sub>1</sub> (do.)
239. Both : Longer, longer.	† All. L. l. <sup>2</sup>
240. grissl'd, no. (See above, ii. 68 : Q <sub>2</sub> : nighted, F <sub>1</sub> : nightly.) Q <sub>1</sub> : gristeld.	† grisly? no.
243. I warn't it will. Q <sub>1</sub> : I warrant.	I warrant <i>you</i> it will.
248. tenable. Q <sub>1</sub> : tenible.	treble.
251. so farre <i>you</i> well.	† so fare ye well.
257.    <i>fond</i> deedes.	<i>foule</i> .

## I. iii.

3.    And conuay <i>in</i> assistant.	And Conuoy <i>is</i> assistant.
5. favour.	† favours.
9. The perfume and suppliance of a minute.	— The suppliance of a m. ? no more. (Perhaps due to H. C.'s inatten- tion.)
12. ? bulkes (pl. s caught from 'thewes').	Bulke.
16. his will, but you must feare.	his feare . . . feare (cf. I. ii. 97).
18. — wanting.	For he himselfe is subject to his Birth.
21.    This <sup>3</sup> safty and health of this whole state.	‡ The sanctity and health of the § weole State.
26. particular act and place.	? peculiar sect and force.
34. keepe you in the reare.	† Keepe within the . . .
40. their buttons.	<i>the</i> buttons.
46. as watchman	watchmen.
57. blessing with <i>thee</i> (Q <sub>1</sub> ).	‡ <i>you</i> .

<sup>1</sup> Probably both the compositor and the copyist found *Whereas* in Sh.'s MS. This trifile had escaped the eye of H. C. In two other like cases, they (or the copyist?) made the proper correction. In both cases it is the words *with all* which are wrongly printed together in Q<sub>2</sub>.

I. v. 79: Withall my imperfections on my head.

F<sub>1</sub> : With all my . . .

Q<sub>2</sub>, III. iii. 81 : Withall his rimes braod blown . . .

F<sub>1</sub> : With all his crimes broad b.

<sup>2</sup> Q<sub>2</sub> is more accurate here: Horatio cannot be supposed, from the text, to join his two companions in exclaiming: 'Longer, longer!' Before this, Q<sub>2</sub> has *All* in three cases, whereas F<sub>1</sub> reads *Both*, because H. C. thought that Hamlet asked only the two sentinels proper.

<sup>3</sup> This, perhaps because *his* stood right above in the MS., or on account of the following S. (See *New Var. Haml.* vol. I. p. 62, note 21.)

Q<sub>2</sub>

59. *Looke* thou character.  
 62. Those friends thou hast.  
 65. each new hatcht vnfledgd courage.  
     Q<sub>1</sub> : of every new vnfleg'd courage.  
 74. || Or of a most select and generous, chiefe<sup>1</sup> in that.  
     Q<sub>1</sub> : Are of a most select and generall chiefe in that.  
 75. || nor a tender boy.  
 76. || loue.  
 77. dulleth.<sup>2</sup>  
 83. || inuests you.  
 106. these tenders for true pay.  
 109. || wrong it thus.  
 114. § My Lord, with almost all the holy nows of heauen.  
 117. Lends the tongue.  
 120. From this time.<sup>4</sup>  
 121. Something.  
 125. tider.  
 128. not of that die.  
 130. pious bonds (for bauds).  
 131. || beguide.

F<sub>1</sub>

‡ *See* thou.  
 || *The* friends.  
 ‡ earth vnhatcht vnfledgd comrade.  
 (See what Ingleby says: Furness,  
*Var Haml.*, I. p. 69, note.)  
 || Are of a most select and generous  
     cheff in that that  
 BE.  
 lone (= loan).  
 duls the.  
 inuites.  
 || his tenders (cf. l. 103).  
 Roaming it thus.  
 My Lord, with all the vowed of  
     heauen.<sup>3</sup>  
 || Giues the t. (The next line begins  
     with *Giuing*.)  
 || ‡ For this time, Daughter.  
 ‡ somewhat.  
 ‡ tether.  
 || that eye.  
 pious bonds.<sup>5</sup>  
 beguile.

<sup>1</sup> If we take 'chief' (as Knight does) to stand for 'eminence, superiority,' the Q<sub>2</sub> reading, apart from the comma after *generous*, is quite satisfactory. The verse remains too long, it is true; but if we pronounce the three monosyllables, 'Or of a,' in the duration of one unaccented syllable, which is by no means difficult before the strongly accented *most*, we practically remove that obstacle too. Perhaps Sh. wrote *Or*, and not *Are* (as Q<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> read), to denote the somewhat indistinct and gliding manner of pronunciation necessary in this place.

<sup>2</sup> Some differences, which I had not originally received into this list, were afterwards put in by Mr. Furnivall. Hence they are left without a mark.

<sup>3</sup> The line commences in Q<sub>2</sub> as well as in F<sub>1</sub> with the words: *My Lord*, which ought to close the preceding line. This coincidence can only be explained, by supposing that address to have stood in the same place in the poet's MS. So H. C. probably found in their source what we read in Q<sub>2</sub>. Judging the line too long, they struck out *almost*. The omission of *holy* seems to be the compositor's fault. (Q<sub>1</sub>: "And withall such earnest vowed.")

<sup>4</sup> If in this line, "You must not take for fire, from this time," we take *fire* to be dissyllabic, we need not adopt the F<sub>1</sub> word 'Daughter,' which looks as if H. C. had made it close the line, as it does three lines above ('these blazes, Daughter'), probably thinking the line too short.

<sup>5</sup> Here again both the Q<sub>2</sub> compositor and the copyist seem to have been led astray by some indistinctness in Sh.'s handwriting, although, on the other hand, it is so easy to read *bonds* for *bands* that the concurrence of Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> in this mistake cannot be of much weight in our matter.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

1. It is very colde.
2. || nipping.
9. wassel.
14. *But* to my mind.
  
- 17—37½.
42. Be thy intents.
45. ô answer mee (Q<sub>1</sub>).
49. interr'd (Q<sub>1</sub>).
54. hideous, and we fooles (Q<sub>1</sub>).
61. It waues you (Q<sub>1</sub>).
69. || somnet (summit).
72. assume (conjunctive mood after *if*).
74. thinke of it,
  
- 75—77½.
77. It waues me still.
80. Hold off your hands.
87. || imagion.

F<sub>1</sub>.

I. iv.

- || is it very corde?
- a nipping.
- || wassels.
- || *And* to my mind. (The next line begins with *And*.)
- = wanting (also w. in Q<sub>1</sub>).
- || events.
- † Oh, oh, a. m.
- † enurn'd.
- † hidious? And we . . .
- † It wafts.
- || sonnet.
- || assumes. (The next word begins with an S.)
- thinke of it?
- = wanting (w. in Q<sub>1</sub> too).
- † It wafts.
- || off your hand.
- imagination.
  

I. v.

- ‡ knotty (see above, I. ii. 68, 'nightly,' and 'grisly,' I. ii. 240).
- fretful (Q<sub>1</sub>).
- † list, Hamlet, oh list:
- ‡ Oh Heauen (the same variation, see I. ii.).
- † *Hast, hast, me . . . .*
- (I omitted.)
- || rots.
- ? it's g. out.
- ‡ mine O.<sup>1</sup>
- ‡ hath Traitorous guifts.
- what a falling off.
- so Lust, though (Q<sub>1</sub>).
- will sate it selfe (Q<sub>1</sub>: would fate it selfe).
- ‡ Mornings Ayre.
- † in the afternoone (Q<sub>1</sub>).
- ‡ Hebenon.
- posset.
- || bak'd.
- and Queene.
- || vnnaneld.
- adue, adue Hamlet, Remember me.
- (See above, *list, Hamlet, Q<sub>1</sub>*.)
- stify vp.
- † Yes, yes, by h.
- † My Tables, my Tables, meet . . .
- (verse too long).

<sup>1</sup> In general Q<sub>2</sub> prefers *my* before vowels, whereas F<sub>1</sub> often reads *mine*.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

112. Enter Horatio and Marcellus.  
Hora. My Lord, my Lord.

113. || Heauens secure him.  
|| boy come, and come.

129. desire shall.

132. I will goe pray.

133. *whurling* words (probably Sh.'s orthography; compare I. i., *sturre*).

136. There is Horatio (Q<sub>1</sub>).

156. Shift our ground (Q<sub>1</sub>).

161. *Ghost*. Sweare by his sword.

162. worke i' th' earth (Q<sub>1</sub> work in the earth).

167. your Philosophie (Q<sub>1</sub>).

174. or this head shake (Q<sub>1</sub>).

176. As well well (Q<sub>1</sub>).

177. if they might.

179. || This doe sweare (compositor's criticism?).

181. || ('Sweare' is omitted in consequence of the alteration in l. 179.)

F<sub>1</sub>.

‡ Hor. & Mar. within. My Lord, my Lord.  
*Enter Horatio and Marcellus.*

Heauen s. h.  
— boy; come bird, come.

|| desires shall.

† Looke you, Ile g. p.

‡ *hurling*.  
(The copyist seems to have faithfully copied *whurling*, which H. C. changed into *hurling*.)

|| There is, *my Lord*. (The compositor's eye caught the preceding line, which ends with *my Lord*.)

|| shift for ground.

† Sweare (Q<sub>1</sub>).

‡ i' th' ground.

|| our Ph.

‡ or thus, head shake.

|| as well.

|| if there might.

This not to doo . . . .

Sweare.

II. i.

1. *this* money.

4. ? meruiles (= marvellous), to make inquire. (See *New Var. Haml.*, i. 118, note 4.)

16. *As* thus.

28. — Fayth as you.

38. fetch of *wit*.

40. || with working.

52-3. *wanting*.

63. carpe of truth.

69. God buy ye, far ye well.

75. O my Lord, my Lord.

76. i' th' name of God.

77. closset.

95. As it did seeme.

97. shoulder.

99. helps.

101. *Come* goe.

105. || passions.

111. hoede.

112. coted . . fear'd.

114. By heauen it is as proper.

|| his money.

maruels.

‡ you make inquiry.

|| And thus.

Line 15 begins with *And*.

Faith no as you . . .

‡ fetch of *warrant*.

i' th' working.

At friend or so, and gentleman.

|| cape of truth.

‡ God . . . you . . . you well.

† Alas, my Lord, my Lord.

‡ in the name of Heauen.

‡ chamber.

‡ That it did seeme.

|| shoulders.

‡ helpe.

— Goo.

passion.

speed.

quoted . . feare.

‡ It seems it is as p

Q<sub>2</sub>.

120. *Come* (the last word of the ? wanting (perhaps left out on purpose to finish with the rhyme).

F<sub>1</sub>.

## II. ii.

5. — so call it.	so <i>I</i> call it.
6. Sith.	† Since.
12. sith . . hauior.	† since humour.
17. Whether ought . . thus.	— wanting.
36. goe some of <i>you</i> .	† of <i>ye</i> .
39. <i>Quee. I Amen.</i>	— Amen.
43.    I assure, my good Liege.	Assure <i>you</i> , my good Liege.
45. And to my gracious king.	one to my . . .
48. As it hath vsd to doe.	† as I haue.
50. That doe I long to heare.	† that I doe I . . . (perhaps   ).
52. fruite to that great feaste.	Newes to that . . .
54. my deere Gertrard.	† my sweete Queene. <sup>1</sup>
57.    and our hastie marriage (our facilitated the omission of ore-).	and our o're-hastie m.
58. Welcome <i>my</i> good friends.	— welcome good friends (the metre is defective).
73.    threescore thousand (see <i>Anglia</i> , vol. iv. part 2.	three thousand (Q <sub>1</sub> ).
78. For <i>this</i> enterprise (Q <sub>1</sub> : that).	for <i>his</i> enterprise.
85. busines is <i>well</i> ended.	† is <i>very well</i> e. (Spoils the metre; Q <sub>1</sub> has <i>very well</i> dispached.)
90. — Therefore breuitie.	Therefore since breuitie.
98. And pittie <i>tis</i> tis true.	† And pittie it is true.
105. while she is mine (Q <sub>1</sub> ).	† whilst . . .
112.    <i>thus</i> in her excellent.	† <i>these</i> in . . .
125. hath shoun me.	shew'd me.
126.    And more <i>about</i> . . . soliciting.	. . . <i>aboue</i> .    soliciting.
137.    a <i>working</i> mute and dumb.	Q <sub>1</sub> : winking.
142. prescripts.	† precepts.
143.    from <i>her</i> resort.	<i>his</i> resort.
146. <i>repell'd</i> .	† repulsed.
148.    Wath.	Watch.
149. lightnes.	a Lightnesse.
150. wherein.	whereon.
151. <i>mourne</i> for.	† <i>maile</i> for.
152. — thinkie this. very like. (See Hamlet's words, I. iii., 'very like.')	think 'tis this? † very likely.
161. <i>dooes</i> indeed.	<i>ha's</i> indeed.
174. excellent well.	† excellent, excellent well.
187. but as your daughter may con- ceave.	but <i>not</i> as . . .
190. a is farre gone.	† far gone, far gone.
197. the matter you <i>reade</i> .	the matter you <i>meane</i> .

<sup>1</sup> See above, stage directions, Nos. 45, 55, pp. 113, 115.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

198. satiricall rogue.  
 201. lacke of wit.  
 202. with most weake hams.  
 205. — for your selfe.  
   || grow old.  
 216. || sanctity.  
 217. I will leaue him and my daughter.  
   (The compositor's eye strayed  
   into the following line.)

F<sub>1</sub>

† s. *slaye*.  
 § locke of wit.  
 — with weake Hammes.  
 for you your selfe.  
 be old (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 sanity.  
 leaue him and sodainely contrive the  
   meanes of meeting  
 Betweene him and my daughter.

The whole speech is divided into a kind of verses in F<sub>1</sub>;  
 hence:

218. My Lord I will take my leaue of  
   you (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 219. || You cannot take.  
   except my life (3 times).  
 224. the Lord Hamlet.  
 227. || My extent good friends.  
 232. § euer happy.  
   || Fortunes lap.  
 237. fauors.  
 240. What newes?  
 243. || but your newes is not true.  
 277. But in the beaten way of friend-  
   ship . . . .  
 (Between *true* and *But*, 31 lines  
 (244—276) are left out.)

† my honourable Lord I will most  
   humbly take . . . .  
 You cannot, Sir, t . . . .  
 † Except my life, my life.  
 my Lord Hamlet.  
 my excellent g. fr.  
 ouer-happy.  
 Fortunes Cap.  
 || fauour?  
 † What's the newes?  
 But your newes is not true. Let me  
   (244<sup>1</sup>—276) . . . . attended.  
 But in the beaten way . . . .

The two *Buts* following so awkwardly upon each other show that this passage cannot have run in the poet's MS. as it does in Q<sub>2</sub>. The omission may have been brought about by the compositor's skipping over a page, and was probably facilitated by the first *But* still ringing in his ear, when his eye caught the second *But*. (See below, p. 129.)

280. || euer poore.                             euen poore.  
 285. ? come, come, deale.                     come, deal.  
 287. Anything.                                 † why, anything.  
 305. discouery, and your secrecie to  
     the King and Queene moult  
     no feather.                                 † discouery of your secrecy to the  
    King and Queen moult no feather.  
 308. exercises.                                 || exercise.

<sup>1</sup> Let me question more in particular: what haue you, my good friends,  
 deserved at the hands of Fortune, that she sends you to Prison hither?

*Guil.* Prison, my Lord?

*Ham.* Denmark's a Prison.

*Rosin.* Then is the World one, &c., &c.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

312. firmament.  
 313. nothing to me but  
 315. — What piece of work is man.  
 316. || faculties.  
 333. || tribute on me.  
 337. — peace, and the Lady.  
 (Q<sub>1</sub> : the clowne shall make them  
     laugh that are tickled in the  
     lungs.)  
 341. take such delight.  
 331. No indeede are they not.  
     ll. 352—379 wanting.

380. It is not *very* strange.  
 381. make mouthes.  
 382. fortie, *fiftie*, a hundred.  
 388. your hands come *then*.  
 390. in this garb.  
     || let me extent.  
 401. swadling clouts (Q<sub>1</sub>).

F<sub>1</sub>.

— wanting.  
 † no other thing to me then.  
 What a p.  
 faculty.  
 of mee (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 peace : the Clowne shall make those  
     laugh whose lungs are tickled a' th'  
     sere : and the Lady<sup>1</sup> . . . .

— take delight.  
 † they are not.  
 (F<sub>1</sub> gives them, and Q<sub>2</sub> also alludes to  
     them.<sup>2</sup>)  
 — not strange.  
 † make mowes.  
 — forty, an hundred.  
 — your hands, come :  
 || in the Garbe.  
 lest my extent.  
 † swathing clouts.

<sup>1</sup> See the parallel passage in my 'Forewords' to Facsimile *Hamlet*, Q<sub>2</sub>, p. xvi.—F. J. F.

<sup>2</sup> This passage has often been considered as a later addition for stage purposes, chiefly because the transition to Hamlet's bitter words seems to be as satisfactory in Q<sub>2</sub> as in F<sub>1</sub>. But if we look a little more closely into it, we find it an impossibility that Shakspere should have written the passage as it is printed in Q<sub>2</sub>. Hamlet asks : "Doe they hold the same estimation they did when I was in the Citty, are they so followed ?" Ros. simply answers : "No indeede are they not." It is impossible to imagine that Hamlet, who takes such a lively interest in the players, and who has just asked several questions about them, should be satisfied with this answer, which simply states the fact that the popularity of the players has decreased, but not the reason of it. Hamlet must be expected to inquire further, and so he does indeed, according to the F<sub>1</sub> reading : "How comes it ? Doe they grow rusty ?"

Let us now look at Q<sub>2</sub>.

"Ros. No indeede are they not.

*Ham.* It is not very strange, for my Vnkle is King of Denmarke, and those that would make mouthes at him while my father liued, giue twenty, fortie, fiftie, a hundred duckets a piece for his picture in little," &c.

There is at best a very awkward gap here, though Hamlet's word might be strained into some connection with Rosencrans's answer. In F<sub>1</sub> the transition is clear enough : "*Ham.* Do the boys carry it away ? *Ros.* I that they do, my Lord, Hercules and his load too." In like manner Hamlet's uncle had 'carried it away.' In the lacuna spoken of above (ll. 244—276) the case was worse and better : worse, because no internal proofs could be derived from the text showing the wanting speeches to be left out accidentally ; better, because the two *Buts* following so hard and awkwardly upon each other must be suffered to give in their evidence, however trifling it may be. Here we have no such external evidence, but the text, when examined attentively, shows clearly enough that we had to do with an accidental omission. (See below.)

Q<sub>2</sub>.

409. Sir, a Monday morning, 'twas  
then indeede.

409. When Rossius *was* an actor.

414. then came each Actor.

415. — (Pol. enumerates only *six*  
species of dramatic poetry,  
finishing with: *Historicall  
Pastorall.*)

438. pious chanson.

439. abridgment comes (Q<sub>1</sub>).

441. oh old friend.

442. || face is vallancet<sup>1</sup> (Q<sub>1</sub>: val-  
lanced).

450. || friendly Faulkners.

462. were no sallets.

464. || affection.  
as wholesome as sweete, &  
by very much more handsome  
then fine (Q<sub>1</sub>: as wholesome as  
sweete).

466. one speech in't I chiefly loued.

467. || Aeneas talke to Dido.

468. || when he speaks.

478. and a damned.

479. Now is he *totall Gules*.

483. To their *Lords murther*.

486. so procede you (Q<sub>1</sub>: so goe on).

493. vnequall matcht.

496. — fals: (half a line wanting).

497. Seeming to feel this blow.

503. — Like a newtrall (metre defec-  
tive).

512. Mares Armor.

517. § follies (= fellies).

524. But who, o woe.

525. mobled (Q<sub>1</sub>).

527. — That's good.

544. ? prethee no more.

545. the rest of this soone.

551. while you liue.

565. for . . . neede.

566. || dozen lines or sixteene lines.

568. could you not.

579. to his owne conceit.

580. || all the visage wand.

F<sub>1</sub>.

† Sir, *for* a Monday morning 'twas *so*  
indeede.

Q<sub>1</sub>: You say true a Monday last, 'twas  
so indeede.

— When Rossius an Actor.

|| then can each A.  
(Here *eight* species are named, of  
which the last is *Tragicall-Comic-  
all-Historicall-Pastorall.*)

|| Pons Chanson.

|| abridgements come.  
oh *my* olde F. (Q<sub>1</sub>).

|| is valiant.

French Faulconers (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
|| was no Sallets.  
affectation.  
— wanting.

|| One *cheefe* speech in it I cheefely  
lou'd.

A . . Tale to Dido (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
where he speakes (Q<sub>1</sub>: where he  
talkes).

|| and damned.  
|| *to take Guelles*.  
|| *vilde murthers*.  
— wanting.  
|| match.  
fals. Then senseless Illium.  
|| *his* blow.  
*And* like a n. . . .

|| Mars *his* Armour.  
|| fallies of her wheele.  
|| But who, o who.  
|| inobled (three times).  
That's good: *Inobled* Queene is good.  
(Q<sub>1</sub>: mobled Queene is good.)  
pray you no more.  
— rest soone.  
|| liued.  
for *a* neede (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
dosen or sixteene lines (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
† could *ye* not.  
|| whole conceit.  
|| all *his* visage warm'd.

<sup>1</sup> Sh. probably wrote vallanc'd.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

585. or he to her.  
 587. || and that for passion (*that*  
     anticipated from 'That I haue,'  
     which follows 'passion.')  
 593. faculties.  
 604. Hah, s'wounds I should take it :  
     for it cannot be.  
 608. { With this slaues offall.  
       { bloody, baudy villaine.  
 610. wanting.  
 611. { Why what an Asse am I ?  
       { I, this is most braue.  
 612. of a deere murthered.  
 615. || a stallyon.  
 617. || my braines.  
 626. If a doe blench.

## Fr.

or he to *Heeuba* (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 and the cue for p.  
 || faculty.  
 † Hah, *Why* I should &c. (See  
     above, several times 'Heauen' for  
     Q<sub>2</sub> God.)  
 { With this slaues offall.  
 { † bloody ; a Bawdie villaine.  
 † Oh Vengeance.  
 { † Who ? What an Asse am I ?  
 { † *I sure*, this is most brave (all in  
     one line).  
 || of the Deere murthered.  
 A Scullion ?  
 Braine (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 † if he *but* blench.

## Act III. i.

1. ? conference.  
 19. || are *heere* about . . . (the verse  
     is too long).  
 26. || into these delights.  
 30-1. may *heere* affront Ophelia.  
 31. || my selfe.  
 43. please *you*.  
 46. || lowlines,  
 48. sugar ore.  
 55. — withdraw my Lord.  
 71. the proude mans.  
 72. ? despiz'd loue.  
 75. || quietas.  
 76. would fardels beare.  
 86. || pitch & moment.  
 92. thanke you *well*.  
 96. || No not I, I neuer . . .  
 97. you know right well (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 99. || their perfume *lost*.  
 107. *you* should admit no.  
 110. then *with* honestie (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 120. || enoculat.  
 122. — Get thee a Nunry.  
 136. no *where* but (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 142. — *Nunry*, farewell.  
 148. — paintings, well enough (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 150. || your selfes another (Q<sub>1</sub> : selues).  
 151. || list.  
 153. — wantonnes ignorance.  
 154. || marriage.

circumstance.  
 are about.  
 on to these d.  
 || may *there* affront.  
 my selfe (*languish espials*).  
 † *ye*.  
 loneliness.  
 || surge o're.  
*let's* withdraw my L. (necessary for  
     the metre).  
 || the poore man's.  
 dispriz'd loue.  
 Quietus (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 || would *these* fardels.  
 pith & moment.  
 † well, well, well.  
 Ho no, I neuer . . .  
 || *I* know right well.  
 || *then* perfume *left*.  
*your honesty* should a.  
 || *then* *your* Honestie.  
 innoculate.  
 thee *to* a Nunry.  
 || no *way*, but.  
*go*, Farewell.  
 || *pratlings too*, well enough.  
 || *selfe*.  
 lisp.  
 w. *your* ignorance.  
 marriages.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

160. || expectation.  
 163. And I of Ladies.  
 165. || what noble.  
 167. stature.  
 173. which *for to prevent*.  
 185. his greefe.  
 196. || vnmatcht go.

F<sub>1</sub>.

expectansie.  
 || *Hau* I . . .  
 that noble.  
 feature.  
 which *to prevent*—(or ‡ ? The metre  
 is defective).  
 this greefe.  
 vnwatcht.

## III. ii.

4. towne cryer spoke.  
 5. *with* your hand thus.  
 10. to *heare* a robustious (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 11. § totters.  
 14. I would haue such a fellow (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 21. ore-steppe.  
 28. || though it makes.  
 30. || of which one.  
 32. § prayasd.  
 35. Pagan nor man.  
 56. *Ros.* I my Lord.  
 65. liche absurd pompe.  
 67. ? fauning. (See Stratmann's  
 note. *New Var. Haml.* vol. I, p.  
 232.)  
 68. of *her* choice.  
 69. || distinguish her election.  
     || S'hath. (Compositor's criti-  
     cism ?)  
 74. co-medled.  
 84. *of thy soule*,  
 92. *In* censure of.  
 94. || And scape detected.  
 106. That did I.  
 108. ? What did you enact (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 115. ? my deere Hamlet.  
 121-2. — wanting (All Ophelia's  
 short replies or questions here  
 end with *my Lord*, which facili-  
 tated the omission.)

|| *had* spoke. ('I had as lief' (just  
 before) gave rise to this mistake.)  
 — your hands thus.  
 || to see a . . .  
 tatters.  
 || I could . . .  
 || orestoppe.  
 make (conjunctive mood).  
 of *the* which one.  
 praise.  
 || P. or Norman.  
 ‡ *Both.* We will my Lord.  
 || like a. p  
 faining.  
 || of my choise. (due to : *my deare*  
*Soul* ?)  
 distinguish her e.  
 Hath.  
 ‡ co-mingled.  
 || my soule. ('my' follows close after.)  
 || *To* censure of. (or ‡ ?.)  
 detecting.  
 ‡ That I did.  
 And what . . . (Perhaps the pre-  
 ceding 'and was accounted' gave  
 rise to this *And*.)  
 my good Hamlet.  
 I meane, my Head vpon your Lap.  
 I my Lord (Q<sub>1</sub>).

In the description of the *Dumb* show I observe the following 15 variations :—

1. Enter a King & a Qu.
2. wanting.
3. and be her.
4. wanting.

a K. and Qu.  
 very louingly.  
 wanting.  
 She kneeles . . unto him.

Q2.	F1.
5. he lyes him downe.	(he left out) Layes . . .
6. come in an other man.	comes in a Fellow.
7. kisses it, pours,	k, it and powres.
8. sleepers eares,	King's eares.
9. and leaues him.	and Exits.
10. dead, makes.	dead, and makes.
11. three or foure come.	two or three Mutes comes,
12. seeme to condole.	seeming to lament,
13. harsh awhile.	loath and vnwilling awhile,
14. accepts loue.	accepts his loue.
15. wanting.	Exeunt.

Although it is easy to see that some of the differences are due to the carelessness of the compositor (especially in Q<sub>2</sub>), the more considerable variations must probably be ascribed to Heminge and Condell, who (it seems) found a somewhat corrupted description in the book of stage-directions only.

147. —|| Marry this *munching*  
*Mallico*; it means . . .

151. by this fellow (Q1). (See stage  
directions.)

152. — Keepe, they'le tell all.

153. Will *a* tell (Q1).

166. orb'd the ground.

174. || from our former state.

176. || For women feare too much,  
euen as they loue,

177. And womens feare and loue hold  
quantitie.

178. || *Eyther* none. in neither.

179. || what my *Lord* is.

181. Where loue is great, the litlest  
doubts are feare,

182. Where little feares grow great,  
great loue growes there.

this is *Miching Malicho*, that meanes  
. . . Qi myching Mallico.

I these Fellowes.

k. counsell.

‡ will *they*.

orbed ground.

your f. st.

|| For women's Feare and Loue holds  
quantitie.

(cf. *Anglia*, iv. 2.)

In neither.

w. my *loue* is.

wanting.

These two curious lines in Q<sub>2</sub> are perhaps also due to the compositor's not having heeded the poet's mark of omission; they certainly do Sh. more honour when left out.

184. <i>their</i> functions.	<i>my</i> functions (due to the preceding <i>my</i> ).
190. <i>That's</i> wormwood.	+ Wormwood, <i>wormwood</i> (Q1: O. w. w.)
206. of eyther, griefe.	of other Greefe.
207. ennactures.	ennactors.
209.    Greefe ioy.	Grieve ioyes.
214.    fauourite flies. (See <i>New Var. Hamlet</i> , vol. I, p. 253.)	fauorites flies.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

228. To desperation turne my trus  
and hope.  
 229. And Anchors cheere in prison be  
my scope.  
 233. If once I be a . . . euer I be a  
wife.  
 240. doth protest.  
 255. are as good as a Chorus (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 260. ? mine edge. (Q<sub>2</sub> elsewhere  
prefers my, and F<sub>1</sub> mine.)  
 263. — Leaue thy faces.  
 267. || Considerat season.  
 277. — wanting.  
  
 285. Thus runnes.  
 287. — with provincial roses.  
 315. . . . with choler.  
 318. || the Doctor.  
 319. — into more choller.  
 321. || And stare not.  
 330. — of busines.  
 334. awnseres as I can.  
 335. rather as you say.  
 341. admiration, impart.  
 349. And doe still.  
 351. Surely barre.  
 358. I sir, but while the grass. . . .  
 359. ô the Recorders.  
  
 360. let me see one.  
 374. || & the vmbre.  
 375. eloquent.  
 377. harmony.  
     — to my compasse.  
 384. make it speake.  
 385. s 'bloud (Q<sub>1</sub> Zownds).  
 388. || though you fret me not.  
 402. Leaue me friends.  
 403. I will say so. By and by is easily  
     said.

F<sub>1</sub>.

}

— wanting.

If once a . . . euer - be Wife.

‡ protests.  
 || are a good Chorus.  
 my edge.

Pox leaue thy . . .  
 confederates . . .  
*Ham.* What, frighted with false fire  
 (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 ‡ So runnes.  
 with *twn* p. R.  
 rather with choller.  
 his Doctor.  
 into *farre* more ch.  
 start not.  
 of *my* B.  
 || answers as I can.  
 || rather you say.  
 — admiration.  
 ‡ *So I* do still.  
 || *freely* barre.  
 — I, but while . . .  
 ‡ O the Recorder. (See stage direc-  
 tions.)  
 ‡ let me see.  
 & thumbe.  
 ‡ excellent.  
 || hermony.  
 to *the top of* my c.  
 — make it . . .  
 ‡ *Why.*  
 though you *can* fret me (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
*Pol.* I will say so.  
*Ham.* By & by is easily said.  
 Leaue me friends.

Was there an indistinct correction in the poet's MS., which was paid due attention to by the copyist, but overlooked by the compositor of Q<sub>2</sub>?

407. || *breakes* out.  
 409. such busines as the bitter day.  
 413. speake dagger.

*breathes* out.  
 || such *bitter* businesse as the day.  
 speake Daggers.

Q<sub>2</sub>.F<sub>1</sub>.

## III. iii.

6. Hazard so neere's as.  
7. out of his *browes*.

Hazard so dangerous. || (or + ?.)  
*lunacies* † ?.

(I prefer *brouces* to the reading of the Folio. It stands metaphorically for 'frowns,' and I do not see any reason why it should be altered.)

14. whose *neale*.                           || whose *spirit*. (Owing to the preceding 'spirit'.)  
 17. || or it is a massie (or disturbs the metre).                   It is a massie.  
 23. — but a generall grone.                   but with a g. g.  
 25. || about this feare.                           *upon* this feare.  
 50. || or pardon.                                   or pardon'd.  
 73. but now  $\alpha$  is  $\alpha$  praying.                   I  $\alpha$  he is . . . praying.

A similar instance of H. C.'s modernizing criticism may be observed a little farther on, l. 91, in this same soliloquy of Hamlet.

77. sole sonne.                                 || soule Sonne.  
 79. || Why this is base and silly.           Oh this is hyre and Sallery.  
     (Composer's criticism?)  
 91. At game a swearing (Q<sub>1</sub>: At game, swearing).           † At gaming, swearing.

## III. iv.

5. — round.  
wanting.    round *with him*.  
 † *Ham.* *within*. Mother, mother,  
mother.

6. || Ille wait you.                               Ille warrant you.  
 12. wicked tongue.                               || idle tongue. (*Idle* stands just  
above.)  
 16. And would it were not so, you are.    || But would you . . . so. You are.  
 20. || most part of you.                           inmost. . . .  
 22. Helpe how.                                    † helpe, helpe, hoa.  
     What how helpe.                               † What hoa! help, help, help!  
 32. thy better (Q<sub>1</sub>).                           || thy Bettters.  
 49. || O're this solidity. (Composer's criticism?)   yea this s.  
 50. || heated visage. (Connected with the preceding variation.)   tristful visage.  
 52. (Qu.<sub>s</sub>' line given to *Ham.*)           || his brow.  
 55. On this brow.                                   on a heauen-kissing h.  
 59. || on a heauie,  $\alpha$  kissing hill.           || breath.

Q<sub>2</sub>

71—76. { sense sure. . . .  
           } difference.  
 78—81. Eyes without . . . mope.  
 87. || And reason pardons will.  
 89. || my very eyes into my soule.  
 90. greeued.  
 91. || As will leaue there their tinct.  
 97. || the kyth.  
 104. your gracious figure.  
 117. that you doe bend.  
 118. And with th'incorporall.  
 139. — wanting.  
 143. — And the matter.  
 145. that flattering unction.  
 152. To make them ranker  
 158. || And leaue the purer.  
 161—164. That monster custome . . .  
           put on.  
           || to refraine night.  
 167—170. The next more easie . . .  
           . . . potency.  
 179. || This bad beginnes.  
 182. blowt king.  
 202—210. There's letters sealed . . .  
           . . . directly meeete.  
 215. || a most foolish prating . . .  
        (owing to the 'most' in l. 214.)

F<sub>1</sub>.

wanting.<sup>1</sup>  
 = QI.  
 = wanting (QI).  
 || As reason panders Will.  
 mine eyes into my very s.  
 grained.  
 As will not l. their Tinct.  
 the tythe.  
 || you. (The line begins with another  
       'you.')  
 — that you bend (metre defective).  
 || with their corporall.  
 Extasie?  
 And I the m.  
 || a fl. unction.  
 || To . . . ranke.  
 And line the p.  
 = wanting (QI).  
 (F1 reads: 'Assume a virtue if you  
       haue it not Refrain to night,' all in  
       one line.)  
 = wanting (QI).  
 Thus bad b.  
 || blunt K.  
 = wanting (QI).  
 a foolish p.

## IV. i.

For the beginning of the Act, see Stage directions.

1. There's matter.  
 4. Bestowe this place on vs a little  
     while.  
 5. || Ah mine own lord.  
 7. the sea.  
 10. Whyps out his Rapier, cryes a  
     Rat, a Rat.  
 22. let it feede.  
 39. And let them know.  
 41—44½. Whose whisper . . . wound-  
     less ayre.<sup>3</sup>

|| T. matters.  
 ‡ — wanting.  
 Ah my good Lord.  
 the Seas.  
 ‡ He whips his Rapier out, and cries  
     a Rat, a Rat.<sup>2</sup>  
 ‡ let's it feede (wrongly referred to  
     'owner,' l. 21; instead of 'we would  
     not understand,' l. 20).  
 || To let them . . .  
 = wanting (QI).

<sup>1</sup> See also omissions, in QI, of lines 161-4; 167-70; 202-10, below.

<sup>2</sup> The words are much less lively than in Q2; besides, the metre is destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> The gap in l. 40 is generally filled up by the words: 'So haply slander,' which suit admirably both metre and sense. (See *New Var. Haml.* vol. I, p. 314.)

Q<sub>2</sub>.F<sub>1</sub>.

## IV. ii.

1. || Ham. Safely stowd, *but soft*. || Ham. Safely stowed . . . Gentle-  
what noyse, who calls on *Hamlet*? men within. *Hamlet*. *Lord H.*  
O heere they come. *Ham*. What noise, etc.

Here again some indistinct correction in the MS. seems to have misled the compositor of Q<sub>2</sub>.

6. || compound it. compounded it.  
18. like an *apple*. || like an *Ape*.  
(Q<sub>1</sub> : As an Ape doth nuttes.)  
32. — to him. *Exeunt*. bring me to him, *hide Fox and all  
after*.

## IV. iii.

(See Stage directions.)

21. of *politique* wormes (Q<sub>1</sub>). || of wormes.  
25. seruice, two dishes (Q<sub>1</sub>). || seruice to dishes.  
27—30. *King*. Alas, alas.  
*Ham*. A man . . . worme. — wanting.  
37. || but if indeede. but indeede, if.  
45. — wanting. with fierie Quicknesse.  
47. euery thing *is* bent (Q<sub>1</sub>). || euery thing *at* bent. (The com-  
positor's eye caught the '*at helpe*',  
standing right above.)  
54. — so my mother. and so . . .  
66. *congruing* to that effect. coniuring.  
70. will nere begin. (Composer's were ne're begun.  
criticism ?)

## IV. iv.

8. Goe *softly* on. || Go *safely* on.  
9—66. (All the rest of the scene, 57 = wanting (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
lines.)

## IV. v.

(See Stage directions.)

9. § they *yawne* at it. they *ayme* at it.  
33. O ho. ? wanting.  
37. ? Larded *all* with. Larded with,  
38. ? *ground* did not go. (Q<sub>1</sub> : not.) *graue* did not go.

<sup>1</sup> 'Ground' seems to be due to the compositor's inattention; but I entertain serious doubts as to whether Furness be right (*New Var. Hamlet*, vol. I. p. 331) in suppressing *all* (with F<sub>1</sub>) and *not* (in opposition to Q<sub>1</sub>, Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub>). May it not have been the intention of the poet to make Ophelia spoil the metre as well as the sense of what she sings? Is it not very probable and natural that her mind should 'gambol' from the matter she means to 'revord'? This certainly was Shakspere's idea of insanity, or he would not have made Hamlet allege "rewording the matter" as a test of perfect sanity. In fact,

Q<sub>2</sub>.

40. How doe you.  
 57. — Indeed without.  
 69. || they *would* lay.  
 77. || death, and now beholde ô  
     Gertrard, Gertrard. (Verse too  
     long.)  
 82. — in thoughts.  
 89. || Feeds on this wonder, keepes  
     himself.  
 93. our person.  
 106. || The cry choose we.  
 141. is't writ.  
 146. Pelican.  
 150. || peare. (For ‘Let her come  
     in,’ see stage-directions.)  
 156. || with weight.

## 161-2. — wanting.

165. — wanting.  
 166. ? rain'd many a tear.  
 176. pray you loue.  
 177. Pancies.  
 182. you *may* weare.  
 195. || beard *was* as white.  
     (*was* anticipated from the next line, but see *New Var. Hamlet*, I. p. 350.)  
 196. — Flaxen was.  
 199. God a mercy on his soule (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
     || Christians soules.  
 201. — Doe you this ô God.  
 214 || funeral.  
 217. call't in question.

F<sub>1</sub>.

† How do *ye*.  
 Indeed *la?* without.  
 they *should* lay.  
 death. Oh, G. G.  
 in *their* thoughts.  
 || Keeps on *his* wonder, keepes him-  
     selfe.  
 || our persons.  
 They cry . . .  
 || if writ.  
 || Politician.<sup>1</sup>  
 pierce  
 by waight.  
 Nature is fine in Loue and where  
     ’tis fine.  
 It sends some precious instance of  
     it selfe  
     After the thing it loues.  
 Hey non nony, nony, hey nony.  
 raines. . . .  
 — pray love.  
 || Paconcies. (See l. 146, ‘Politician.’)  
 † oh, you *must* weare.  
 beard as white.  
 All Flaxen was (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 || Gramercy. . . .  
 Christian s.  
 I pray God.  
 . . . you *see* this . . .  
 buriall.  
 † call in question.

the more we think of it, the more we must find it improbable that Ophelia, with her disturbed mind, should not put some confusion or other into what she sings. Her old snatches of ballads were no doubt generally known and popular among Sh.'s public, so the slightest deviation from their common text was sure to impress the spectators the more strongly with the disturbance of Ophelia's mind. Such alterations are as important means of characterizing Ophelia in her insanity, as the various ‘Ah, Oh's’ unconsciously inserted by the Clown in his churchyard verses must be owned to be characteristic there.

The Folio has a few traces left of this unconscious distortion of the metre by the Clown. Some, however, are effaced, because, to Heminge and Condell, outward correctness was a weightier matter than such ‘finesses.’ They therefore left out *all* in Ophelia's verses, but could not help seeing that the nonsense arising from *did NOT go* was intended by the poet; so they kept it.

<sup>1</sup> We cannot on any account accuse H. C. or one of the actors of having supplied this nonsense. It must be due to the compositor—whether to his carelessness or to his criticism.

Q<sub>2</sub>.F<sub>1</sub>.

	IV. vi.	IV. vii.
2. Sea-faring men.	† Sailors.	
9. Embassador.	† Ambassadours.	
18. <i>and</i> in the grapple.	† In the g. doe a <i>good</i> turne.	
22. — doe a turne.	<i>your</i> eare.	
25. <i>thine</i> ear.	bore of. . . .	
26. § bord of the matter.	<i>He</i> that t. . . .	
31.    <i>So</i> that thou knowest <i>thine</i> .	will giue you way.	
32. — will you.		
		proceeded.
6.    proceede.	So criminall and so capitall.	
7. So criminall and so capitall. (‘criminall,’ owing to the end- ing of ‘capitall.’)	Safety Wisdome.	
8.    safetie, <i>greatnes</i> , wisdome.	† She’s so <i>coniunctire</i> .	
14. She is so <i>conclive</i> to my life.	Would like the Spring.	
20.    Worke like the spring.	for so loud a <i>Winde</i> .	
22.    for so loued <i>Arm’d</i> .	where <i>I had arm’d</i> them.	
24. where I <i>have aym’d</i> them.	who’s worth.	
27. Whose worth.	How now; What newes?	
36. <i>wanting</i> . (For the <i>Messenger</i> , see stage-directions.)	<i>Mes.</i> Letters my Lord from Hamlet.	
37. These to your Maiestie.	This to your Maiesty.	
41. Of him that brought them.	— <i>wanting</i> (because another <i>them</i> , l. 40, precedes).	
48. — of my suddaine returne.	of my suddaine, <i>and more strange</i> returne.	
— <i>wanting</i> .	Hamlet (signature to letter).	
51. and no such thing.	Or no such thing. (Another <i>or</i> begins the line.)	
60. <i>I my Lord</i> , so you will not.	† If so you l not . . .	
69-80. My Lord I will be rul’d . . . graueness.	= <i>wanting</i> (Q <sub>1</sub> ).	
82. two months since.	Some two months hence. <sup>1</sup>	
85. they can well.	they ran well.	
87. grew vnto.	grew into	
90.    he <i>tapt me</i> thought.	† he <i>past my</i> thought.	
92.    Lamord.	Lamound.	
95. <i>all the nation</i> .	<i>our nation</i> .	
101-103. the Scrimures . . . opposed them.	= <i>wanting</i> (Q <sub>1</sub> ).	
107. <i>What</i> out of this.	<i>Why</i> out of this.	
115-124 { There liues . . . . . . vller.	= <i>wanting</i> (Q <sub>1</sub> ).	

<sup>1</sup> This addition is closely connected with the omission just mentioned. It serves to complete the metre in the line—

‘And call it accident: some two monthes hence’  
—where *hence* is a blunder of the compositor’s, owing to the preceding *s* of *monthes*.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

135. || ore your heads.  
 141. — for purpose.  
 143. *that* but dippe.  
 155. || *did* blast.  
 157. ? cunnings.  
 160. § prefar'd.  
 163. but stay what noyse.  
 — **wanting.**  
 165. they follow.  
 167. || *ascaunt* the Brooke.  
 168. his horry leaues.  
 169. || Therewith . . . did she *make*.<sup>1</sup>  
 172. || *cull-cold.*  
 175. *her* weedy trophies  
 178. old laudes.  
 182. with *theyr* drinke.  
 183. melodious *lay*.  
 184. Alas, then she is drownd.  
 192. || drownes it.

F<sub>1</sub>.

on your heads.  
 for *that* purpose.  
 † I but dipt.  
*should* blast.  
 commings.  
 prepar'd.  
 — **wanting.**  
 how sweet Queene.  
 † they'l f.  
*aslant* a Brooke.  
 his hore leaves.  
 There with . . . did she *come*.  
 cold.  
 || *the w. t.*  
 † old tunes (Q1).  
 || with *her* dr.  
 || m. *buy*.  
 † Alas then, is she drown'd ?  
 doubts it (for 'douts it').

## V. i.

1. || *when she wilfully*  
 9. || so offended.  
 12. it is to act, to doe.  
 13. || or all.  
 37-42. — **wanting.**  
 (The compositor's eye strayed  
 from 'bare Armes' to 'with-  
 out Armes'.)  
 50. — for that out-liues.  
 68. get thee in

*that wilfully.*  
 Se offendendo.  
 † it is *an* Act to doe.  
 argall.  
 { Why he had none . . .  
 { . . . without Armes ?

|| soope of liquor.  
 72. there *a* was nothing *a* meet.  
 74. — a sings in graue-making,  
 (Q1: that is thus merry in making  
 of a graue.)  
 80. clawed me.  
 81. || into the Land.  
 86. || *this* might be.  
 87. ? asse now ore-reaches.  
 88. that would circumuent,  
 91. || how doost thou sweet Lord.  
 (sweet L. precedes.)  
 94. || when a went to beg it.

that *Frame* o.  
 † get thee to *Yaughan*.  
 (Supposing Yaughan to have been the  
 name of some well-known inn-  
 keeper near the theatre. See *New  
 Var. Hamlet*, I. p. 379.)  
 stoope . . . (Q1).  
 there was nothing meeete.  
 † *that he* sings at gr. . . .

|| caught me.  
 intill the L.  
 it m. be.  
*Asse* o're *Offices*.  
 || could c.  
 good L.  
 meant to beg.

<sup>1</sup> Composer's criticism? Perhaps owing to *There with* being written rather close together in the poet's MS. See above, *withall* for *with all*.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

98. || massene.  
 107. quiddities.  
 109. *mad* knaue.  
 114. his recoveries to haue.<sup>2</sup>

116. — will vouchers.  
 117. of his purchases and *doubles*.  
 119. will scarcely.  
 125. *which* seeke out.  
 (Hamlet speaks to the Clown):  
 127. Sirra.  
 129. || or a pit of clay.  
 130. — *wanting*.  
 135. ? yet it is mine.  
 151. I haue tooke.  
 153. of the Courtier (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 154. — been Graue-maker.  
 155. — Of the dayes.  
 161. || *that* very day that.  
 (owing to the second *that*).  
 162. *that* is mad.  
 176. I haue been *Sexton*.  
 182. — corses that will.  
 190. — heer's a scull now hath lyen.

203. — Ham. Alas,  
 211. not one.  
 212. grinning.  
 213. || Ladies *table*.  
 (table occurring two lines above  
 'set the table,' may have been  
 caught by the compositor's  
 eye.)

239. || the *waters* flaw.  
 240. but soft awhile.  
 241. || Who is *this* they follow?  
 244. 'twas of some estate.

252. || been lodged.  
 254. — Flints.  
 (metre destroyed.<sup>3</sup>)

F<sub>1</sub>.

Mazard,  
 Quiddits.<sup>1</sup>  
 || rude k.  
 his Recoveries; Is this the fine of his  
 Fines, and the recovery of his  
 Recoveries to haue,  
 will *his v.*  
 purchases and *double ones too.*  
 || hardly.  
 || *that* seeke out.

‡ Sir.  
 O a pit of clay.  
 for such a Guest is meete.  
 and yet . . .  
 ‡ I haue taken.  
 || of our C.  
 been a G.  
 Of *all* the dayes.  
 the very day that,

|| *was* mad.  
 || *sixeteene*.  
 corses *now-a-days*, that . . .  
 Here's a Scul! now: *this Soul* has  
 laine.  
*Let me see.* Alas (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 || no one.  
 ‡ jeering.  
 Ladies *chamber* (Q<sub>1</sub>).

the *winters* flaw.  
 || but soft *aside*.  
 is *that* they . . .  
 — 'twas some Estate.  
 (metre destroyed).  
 haue I.  
*Shardes* Flints . . .

<sup>1</sup> Must we not suppose Shakspere to have written *quiddities* to match *quillities* (Q<sub>2</sub> *quillettes*)? How should the compositor of Q<sub>2</sub> have come to put the equally correct form *quiddities*?

<sup>2</sup> Compositor went from first *Recoveries* to second. See my *Forewords* to Q<sub>2</sub>, p. xviii.—F. J. F.

<sup>3</sup> The heavy 'Flint' may stand for a measure:

"for charitable prayeers,  
 Flint / and peeb/les should / be throwne / on her."—F. J. F.

## Q2.

255. virgin *Crants.*  
 258. *Doct.* This rubrum occurs twice  
     for  
 269. O treble woe.  
 270. || tenne times *double.*  
 279. Coniures.  
 284. For though I am not.  
 285. || in me something dangerous.  
 286. wisedome feare (Q1).  
     hold off thy hand (Q1).  
 287. *All.* Gentlemen.  
 288. *Hora.* Good my Lord.  
 297. *S'wounds th'owt doe.*  
 298. woo' fast.  
 299. Esill.  
 308. || *this* a while.  
 316. I pray *thee.*  
 317. Strengthen your.  
 321. || *thirtie* shall we see.

## F1

‡ virgin *Rites.*  
 ‡ *Priest.*  
 ? O terrible woer.  
*treble.*  
 || Coniure.  
 || Sir, though I . . .  
     something in me d. (Q1).  
 ‡ wisenesse.  
 ‡ Away thy hand.  
 — wanting.  
*Gen.* Good my Lord.  
*Come . . . thou'l doe.*  
 — wanting. (Verse too short.)  
*Esile.<sup>1</sup>*  
*thus* a while.  
*I pray you.*  
*Strengthen you.*  
*shortly* shall we see.

## V. ii.

1. now *shall you see.*  
 9. should *learn us.*  
 17. || to *vnfold.<sup>4</sup>*  
 27. But wilt thou heare *now.*  
 40. *might* flourish.  
 48. || such like, as sir.  
 44. and knowing of  
 46. || *those* bearers.  
 57. — wanting.  
 58. their defeat.  
 63. || *thinke thee.*  
 68.-80. — wanting.<sup>6</sup>

|| now *let me see<sup>2</sup>* the other.  
 ‡ should *teach us.<sup>3</sup>*  
*vNSEALE.*  
 || But wilt thou heare *me.*  
 || *should* flourish.<sup>5</sup>  
     such like Assis.  
 || know of.  
*the* bearers.  
 Why man, they did make loue to this  
     employment.  
 || debate.  
 think'st thee (for thinks't).  
 To quit him . . . who comes here.

<sup>1</sup> Q1 reads : 'Wilt drinke vp vessels,' which proves, at least, that a simple *e* must have been the vowel of the first syllable of the doubtful word; so that *cisel* (see *New Var. Haml.* I. p. 405) seems to be an unjustifiable departure from what has come down to us.

<sup>2</sup> The compositor repeating to himself the words he was going to put in type, involuntarily changed 'shall you see' into the commonplace 'let me see.'

<sup>3</sup> See Schmidt, *Sh. Lex.* I. 3, v. *learn*, where instances are adduced from Sh. showing that he sometimes used *learn* for *teach*, a confusion still known in popular English.

<sup>4</sup> White (*New Var. Haml.* I. p. 415) · "The terminal syllables of the line above probably misled the compositors of the Qq. Here Sh. would have avoided a rhyme; and from l. 52 it is plain that he broke a 'seal.'"

<sup>5</sup> This mistake was probably caused by the following *should*.

<sup>6</sup> Observe the sign of interrogation after conscience, l. 67, Q2, which makes it probable that the inattentive compositor's eye strayed from *conscience* ? to *comes heere* ?, which latter words, apart from the sign of interro-

Q<sub>2</sub>.

89. but as I say.  
 91. if your Lordshippe.  
     — spirit, your bonnet.  
 101. || *Bnt yet me thinkes it is very sully and hot, or my complexion.*  
 104. my Lord.  
 109. Nay good my Lord for my ease in good faith, sir.  
 106—150.  
     here is newly come . . .  
     hee's vnfollowed. . . .

156. impaund.<sup>1</sup>  
 157. hanger and so.  
 162-3. *Hora.* I knew you must be edified by the margentere you had done.  
 171. || why is this all you call it.  
     hath layed on twelue for nine.  
     — Shall I redeliuer you so?  
 190. || Yours doo's well.  
     || no tongues els.  
 191. for's turne.  
 195. || A did sir with.  
 196. has he.  
     many more.  
 197. || breede.  
 198. || and out of an habit.  
 199. || histy collection.  
 200. ? prophane and trennowed.  
 202. triall.  
 203—218.  
     Enter a Lord . . . .  
     instructs me.  
 219. — you will loose . . .

F<sub>1</sub>.

" . . . saw.  
 || friendshipp.  
 spirit : put your b.  
 — Mea thinkes it is very soultry and hot for my Complexion.  
 but my Lord.  
 || Nay, in good faith, for mine ease in good faith : Sir.  
 == wanting (Q1).  
 == wanting, except l. 143-4 : You are not ignorant of what excellency Laertes is at his weapon ('as his weapon' not in Q<sub>2</sub>), which proves the omission to be an intentional one, made with a good deal of circumspection and cleverness.  
 imposed.  
 || Hangers or so.  
 — wanting.  
 this impon'd as you call it.  
 || hath one twelue f. n.  
 Shall I redeliuer you e'en so yours, yours, hee does well.  
 no tongues else.  
 || tongue (the preceding 'tonguee' caused this error).  
 He did complie with.  
 || had he.  
 || mine more.  
 beaut.  
 and outward habit.  
 yesty collection.  
 fond and winnowed.  
 || tryalls.  
 == wanting (Q1).  
 you will lose this wager.

gation, offer more than sufficient external resemblance to *conscience*, to explain such a mistake. Thus also the omission of the anxious question, *who comes here?* in Q<sub>2</sub> is easily accounted for.

<sup>1</sup> See *New Var. Haml.* I. p. 431. If *imponed* was really meant "to ridicule the affectation of uttering English words with French pronunciation," we must either suppose H. C. to have preserved the poet's spelling better than Q<sub>2</sub>, or the Q<sub>2</sub> compositor to have rather cleverly replaced the extraordinary word *imponed* by one more intelligible to him, and to have thus unconsciously put the word intended, but disguised, by Shakspere. I think it is more plausible to believe that H. C. arbitrarily altered *impaund* into *impon'd*.

Q<sub>2</sub>.

223. — thou would'st not  
    thinke how ill all's heere.  
227. obey it.  
230. || there is speciall.  
232. — if it be.  
235. since no man of ought he leaues,  
    knowes what ist to leauue be-  
    times, *let be*. (Here only a  
    comma is wanting after  
    *knowes*.)  
254. hurt my brother (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
261. — To my name vngord.  
261. || But *all* that time.  
265. — Give vs the foiles.  
(On account of the following  
    ‘Come, one for me.’)  
270. || Ostricke.  
274. he is better.  
283. || an Vniece.  
291. Come my Lord.  
  
296. Set it by a while.  
297. — Laer. I do confess.  
299. Here Hamlet take my napkin  
    rub thy browes.  
310. || I am *sure* you make.  
324. — It is heere Hamlet, thou art  
    slaine.  
(Verse too short.)  
326. an hours life.  
327. || in my hand.  
326. — Hearre thou incestuous damned  
    Dane.  
(Verse too short.)  
337. || is the Onixe heere.  
350. cause a right.  
355. || O god Horatio.  
356. ? shall *I* leauue behind me?  
(Q<sub>1</sub>. ‘What a scandall wouldst  
    thou leauue behinde? A gliding  
    pronunciation removes the me-  
    trical difficulty in Q<sub>2</sub>.)  
369. the rest is silence.

F<sub>1</sub>.

but thou wouldest not thinke.  
— how all heere.  
obey.  
there's a speciall.  
if it be *now*.  
‡ since no man ha's ought of what he  
    leauues. What is't to leauue betimes?  
  
|| . . Mother.  
|| To keepe my name vngorg'd.  
But till that time.  
Give vs the foyles, *Come on*.  
  
Osricle.  
|| he is better'd.  
an Vnion.  
|| Come on sir.  
(Repetition of Hamlet's preceding  
    words.)  
— set by a-while.  
*A touch, a touch*, I do confesse.  
|| Heere's a napkin, rub thy browes  
    (metre destroyed).  
I am *a feare'd* . . .  
It is heere Hamlet.  
Hamlet, thou art slaine.  
  
† an hour of life (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
in thy hand.  
incestuou, *murdrous*, Damned Dane.  
(The metre is correct, although the  
    verse is printed in two lines.)  
Is thy Vnion<sup>1</sup> heere (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
|| causes right.  
O good Horatio.  
shall *live* behind me.  
  
‡ . . . silence O, o, o, o.  
Dyes

<sup>1</sup> The folio reading *Vnion* being corroborated by Q<sub>1</sub>, we must either suppose the actor who represented Hamlet to have substituted *vnion* for *onyx*, or the Q<sub>2</sub> compositor not to have known *vnion*, and substituted the name of some well known precious stone for *vnion*. The latter supposition seems to be more plausible; it is besides countenanced by what Q<sub>2</sub> prints for *vnion* where it occurs for the first time: *Vnice*, a conciliatory attempt of the compositor.

Q<sub>2</sub>.F<sub>1</sub>.

373. *you* would see ?  
 390. — to yet unknowing world.  
 394. || and *for no cause*.  
 401. which *now* to claime (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 402. shall haue also cause.  
 403. || no more.  
 409. most royall (Q<sub>1</sub>).  
 410. || *right of warre*.  
 412. || bodies.

(According to stage practice.)  
 ¶ *ye* would see.  
 to *th'* yet *vnknowing w.*  
 and *forc'd cause*.  
 || which *are* to *claime*.  
 || . . . *alwayes cause*.  
 on more.  
 ¶ *most royally*.  
*rites of Warre*.  
 body (Q<sub>1</sub>).

The following initial *s* of *such* probably gave rise to this mistake in Q<sub>2</sub>: it cannot, of course, have been the intention of Shakspere to cause a general removal of the victims to take place as a *jinalē* to the "Tragedy of Hamlet."

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According to the list above, Q<sub>2</sub> contains about 180 variations due some how or other to the compositor, besides about 70 accidental omissions, and 7 'foul cases.' In F<sub>1</sub> we find: Nearly 160 variations which must be ascribed to the compositor; about 31 accidental omissions; 3 'foul cases'; 15 intentional omissions (to shorten the representation of the piece); about 38 variations owing to the Actors, who had altered words or phrases in their parts; and about 100 traces of Heminge and Condell's editorial criticism.

Thirty-two cases seem doubtful to me, because they admit of being explained in several ways.

These numbers speak for themselves: Q<sub>2</sub> affords us Shakspere's genuine text, disfigured, it is true, by an untrustworthy *compositor*, but still infinitely superior to the F<sub>1</sub> text, which, in spite of its outward appearance of correctness, is all the more dangerously corrupt inwardly, having been modelled and remodelled by *Copyists*, *Compositors*, *Actors*, and, last not least, by the *Editors* themselves.

If this list is compared with the disquisitions of Mommsen (*Jahrb.* vol. 72), it will appear that, in most cases, I perfectly agree with that critic with regard to the origin attributed to the various readings. One of the principal points, however, in which I cannot help differing

from him, is my frequently marking as a blunder of the F<sub>1</sub> compositor, what he considers to be an interpolation of some actor. I think Mommsen has too good an opinion of the carefulness of the F<sub>1</sub> compositor; his idea of misprints and compositor's blunders in general seems to be as narrow, as his opinion of the typographical correctness of F<sub>1</sub> is exaggerated. Mr Wm. Blades, in the *Athenæum*, 1872, I. p. 114, observes that every compositor at work reads a few words of his original and keeps them in mind, repeating them until he has put them in type. It is but natural that during such repetitions some words should be supplanted by others having a similar sound, and that mental transpositions of syllables or words should happen as soon as his attention slacked. In *Richard III*, I. ii. 38, an actor is said to have said: 'the parson cough' for the 'coffin pass.' Similarly, whole common-place expressions seem to have found their way into Q<sub>2</sub> as well as F<sub>1</sub>. Thus I do not doubt but Q<sub>2</sub> is right in reading V. ii. 1: "Now shall you see the other." The F<sub>1</sub> compositor unconsciously substituted the standard phrase of common life: "Let me see." This will help to explain several variations in a manner different from Mommsen's. In 'why she, *euen* she,' I do not see an actor's interpolation in F<sub>1</sub>, but a simple omission in Q<sub>2</sub>. Also in II. ii. 527: "That's good; mobled queen is good," where the word *good* occurring twice gave rise to the omission of the last four words in Q<sub>2</sub>. IV. v. 56: 'Indeed, *la*,' is a delicate touch of characteristic, and I cannot help thinking that it was simply left out in Q<sub>2</sub>. It cannot, of course, be my intention to point out all the instances in which my opinion differs from that of Mommsen, the less so, because the main result he arrives at, viz. that the F<sub>1</sub> text of *Hamlet* contains numerous interpolations of the actors and editors, is confirmed by the above list, which has been independently obtained from a collation of the old editions. But some details, being of no little consequence for the settlement of another part of the Hamlet question, must not be passed over in silence.

The *additions* found in F<sub>1</sub>, Mommsen groups in six classes:

1st. Such as refer to the stage-practice. (*Jahrb.* p. 112.) There are such; but I fail to recognize this relation, *e. g.* in the line:

"What? frightened with false fire?"  
 (Q<sub>1</sub>) "What, frightened with false fires?"

I think this line was simply left out by the Q<sub>2</sub> compositor.<sup>1</sup>

2nd. Idle additions belonging, perhaps, to the recital on the stage. Here I cannot join Mommsen in considering, *e. g.*, the line:

"Hey non, nony, nony, hey nony,"

as such an idle addition. See *New Var. Hamlet*, I. p. 344.

3rd. Some words and half verses which seem to have been left out through negligence in Q<sub>2</sub>.

4th. Whole lines, simply left out in the quartos.

5th. Two longer prose passages, Act II. ii. I do not share Mommsen's opinion that they were subsequently added for stage-purposes, but have tried above to show that they are simple omissions in Q<sub>2</sub>.

6th. Two metrical passages, IV. v. 161-3:

"Nature is fine in loue," &c.,

and "To quit him . . . comes here?"

These Mommsen also believes to have been left out by the Q<sub>2</sub> compositor, especially the latter passage, which is absolutely necessary to explain Hamlet's more amiable disposition towards Laertes.

Mommsen asserts that none of the F<sub>1</sub> additions were made by Shakspere. As far as this means that F<sub>1</sub> cannot boast of any special additions from the poet's hand, I accede to this assertion. But I think that, setting aside the trifling addition of exclamatory or declamatory words by the actors or by Heminge and Condell, we have no right to speak of additions proper at all, since there is nothing to confute my supposition that *all the seeming additions in F<sub>1</sub> are mere accidental omissions in Q<sub>2</sub>*.

*Omissions in F<sub>1</sub>.*—Several of the most beautiful passages, mostly of a reflective nature, are wanting in F<sub>1</sub>, and it is plain that they were omitted to shorten the representation of the piece. Mommsen himself (*Jahrb.* p. 114) confesses that these omissions were made cleverly

<sup>1</sup> See the parallel passages in my Forewords to Q<sub>2</sub> (Griggs's *Facsimile*), p. xiv.—F. J. F.

and with ‘knowledge of the stage,’ but he shrinks from allowing them to have been made by Shakspere himself. He tries to support his opinion by observing that Burbage, Heminge, and Condell were also clever men and knew the stage. But we must ask whether Shakspere, who at all events was at least a spectator, if not an active player in his *Hamlet*, is at all likely to have suffered others to abridge his tragedy? Q<sub>1</sub> shows that the abbreviations in question were made before 1603. Who could be better qualified for this task than the author himself? And is the poet at all likely not to have been asked by his fellow-actors to do it, since he surely knew best what might be left out without too seriously injuring the piece? There is no kind of disparagement to Shakspere’s character in supposing that he did not refuse to do what most dramatists have to do: adapting their pieces to the stage.

#### *Other characteristic features of Hamlet, F<sub>1</sub>.*

Many of the F<sub>1</sub> readings offer negligent, shallow, and commonplace expressions, for good ones in Q<sub>2</sub>, and may have arisen from the different parts being repeatedly copied, or from the carelessness of the compositor, but could not possibly have been introduced by the poet in making a recension of his piece for the stage. Mommsen (*Jahrb.* p. 116), it seems, again underrates the carelessness of the F<sub>1</sub> compositor, and relies too confidently on the outward correctness of the folio. Nobody can deny that it is more carefully printed than Q<sub>2</sub>, but its credit of being so very much superior to Q<sub>2</sub> in this respect, seems to be due chiefly to the curious anxiety exhibited in its punctuation. If we consider the numerous accidental omissions, however, the still more numerous misprints and blunders of the compositor, and even the different instances of nonsensical punctuation (see *Jahrb.* p. 164), it will be granted that, after all, the excellence of F<sub>1</sub> may be reasonably doubted in this respect.

Many of the variations marked || in the above list are attributed by Mommsen to the actor’s interpolations; but it will be seen that, making a little more allowance for the negligence of the compositor, they cannot be marked otherwise than as due to him.

Especial importance must be attached to another remark of Mommsen. He observes (*Jahrb.* p. 122, *seq.*) that several of the F<sub>1</sub> readings betray a kind of grammatical and metrical neologism, and groups his instances under the following heads:

1st. Twice the old 'for to' before the infinitive has been removed. See I. ii. 175, and III. i. 175.

2nd. F<sub>1</sub> substitutes three times forms in -y (-ly) for the more poetical participial forms in -ed. See I. ii. 68; I. ii. 240, and I. v. 18.

3rd. The old *sith* has been twice replaced by *since*. See II. ii. 6, 12.

4th. The expletive *do*, so frequently met with in Spenser, has been removed in four places. See II. ii. 626; III. ii. 240; III. iv. 117; V. ii. 284.

5th. Words which, according to the old usage, occasionally drop their prefix (*e. g.* *stonish*) show their full forms in several places.

6th. Some old verbal forms are replaced by their more modern equivalents (*taken* for *tooke*, V. i. 151, &c.). In one point, however, I cannot agree with Mommsen, who in Q<sub>2</sub> (IV. vii. 89) takes *me thought* to be the past tense of the impersonal verb *methinks*. I rather incline to suppose that *me* was erroneously put for *my*, as F<sub>1</sub> has it. The verb *top* (which would strangely stand as a neuter verb if we adopt Mommsen's interpretation) has thus its proper object: 'he topt my thought.' See *New Var. Hamlet*, vol. I. p. 362, where this reading has been received into the text.

7th. Some archaic and rare words have been removed.<sup>1</sup> Also the conjunctive mood has been effaced in F<sub>1</sub> in several places.<sup>2</sup> But on examining such instances in our list, we find that in many of them it is but the simple addition or omission of an *s* that produces this confusion in mood and number of verbs, so that many of these cases may be safely considered as mistakes of the compositors.

8th. Also with regard to the number of spoken syllables, and the accent of several words, F<sub>1</sub> is more modern than Q<sub>2</sub>.

I subjoin the upshot of Mommsen's remarks on the subject.

It is certain, that measurings like *faëry*, *safety*, *convenient*,

<sup>1</sup> See *Rites for Crants*, V. i. 255; *coniuring* for *congruing*, IV. iii. 66, &c., and cf. I. ii. 183.

<sup>2</sup> See I. iv. 72; III. ii. 28; and cf. pl. II. ii. 439.

especiall, transformation, nation, armēd, louēd . . . are the rule in Spenser, especially in ryme, whereas, in the interior of the verse, syncopized forms are frequent. It is certain, further, that liquid consonants often lengthen a word by one syllable (*Zerlehnung*, as Mommsen calls it): fiēr, hourēs, juggēlar, &c.; certain besides, that some of these archaic measurings are still traceable in Shakspere in spite of all the modernizing efforts of later editions; only they must not be considered as the rule, but as exceptions. They are most frequently met with in the earlier pieces of Shakspere, and the unsyncopized forms in -ed generally occur at the end of a verse and before vowels. (See Perkin's 'Shakspere' by Mommsen, pp. 379, s. and p. 365.) Words which must be accented in the French way also occur in Shakspere, although not often. On the other hand, differences between paroxytone nouns and oxytone verbs are observed, which were soon after disregarded. (See Perkin's 'Shakspere,' pp. 24, 360 ss., 406.)

The metre in F<sub>1</sub> is often spoilt, not only by accidental omissions, but also by different readings. This, as Mommsen rightly observes, is one of the most important arguments in proving that F<sub>1</sub> was not revised by Shakspere, but interpolated by strange hands. Mommsen (*Jahrb.* p. 159) gives a list of such *corruptela*. They are on the whole too obvious to be disputed. In some of these cases, however, I think the F<sub>1</sub> compositor has simply left out some words, whereas Mommsen supposes the omission to be due to the actors. Thus, e. g., Q<sub>2</sub> reads (II. i. 1 s.), "Come goe with me, I will goe seeke the King." F<sub>1</sub> spoils the metre by leaving out 'Come.' Actors, in altering anything in their parts, have some reason for doing so, and we are generally able to guess their motives without difficulty; but in the case referred to, I utterly fail to see what could have induced an actor, or Heminge and Condell, to drop this word, which, no doubt, was often superfluously added on the stage.

As regards the punctuation of F<sub>1</sub>, it is on the whole scrupulously careful, and owing to this very scrupulousness we come across some strange distortions of sense. Mommsen rightly calls attention to the fact, that the punctuation of Q<sub>2</sub> is scanty, even incomplete, but seldom positively wrong. For instances, see *Jahrb.* p. 164 ff. They

amply illustrate and prove the truth of Mommsen's assertion, that we do not only not obtain from the orthography and punctuation of F<sub>1</sub> any new evidence of a direct connexion of the F<sub>1</sub> text of *Hamlet* with Shakspere's MS., but a clear proof that the text received certain changes at the hands of Heminge and Condell, or of the compositor, —probably of both, we ought to add.

We have thus found the F<sub>1</sub> text of *Hamlet* disfigured by numerous blunders of the compositor, by interpolations due to the actors, and by many traces of Heminge and Condell's criticism. We have further seen that we have no occasion to believe in a direct connexion between F<sub>1</sub> and the poet's MS., or even with Q<sub>2</sub>, and that the intentional omissions (abbreviations) are due to Shakspere himself.

Taking all this into account, there are only two possibilities left which are worth consideration.

Either Heminge and Condell's F<sub>1</sub> was printed from a coherent stage-copy of the piece, or it was printed from a version obtained from the actor's parts together with a book containing the stage-directions only, which probably supplied the description of the Dumb Show, and perhaps a few other stage-directions.

At first sight this alternative seems to be of a very trifling nature, especially as we must suppose the player's parts to have been copied from the stage-copy, and not directly from the poet's MS. Certainly Heminge and Condell would have been able to introduce their 'critical corrections' into such a stage-copy as well as into a text obtained from the player's parts; the F<sub>1</sub> compositor might have made as many blunders in printing the one as in printing the other; and copyists might have contributed their share of mistakes in the one case as well as in the other; but there are two things that turn the scale in favour of the second supposition, namely, the actor's interpolations, and the nature of the F<sub>1</sub> stage-directions. The interpolations in question cannot be supposed to have been entered in a stage-copy; hence we cannot explain the existence of the F<sub>1</sub> *Hamlet* without the actors' parts as its source; and since there is no sensible reason why Heminge and Condell should have departed from the stage-directions of a stage-copy, which, being obtained directly from

the poet's MS., would have been no contemptible authority, we must exclude such a coherent stage-version from the sources of the F<sub>1</sub> *Hamlet*, without undertaking, however, to explain its absence. Thus we arrive at the following conclusion :

"From Shakspere's MS. a stage-copy was made, *which was lost after the players had written out their parts from it.* These parts were, perhaps, repeatedly copied, certainly interpolated by the actors, and afterwards, together with a book containing the stage-directions only, served as the source of a new version. They exhibited the Shaksperean abbreviation of several speeches, which were probably never marked out in the lost stage-copy. Heminge and Condell having no high opinion of the pureness of their source, and thinking to better it, made it worse by introducing corrections and new readings of their own. After having fitted it out with an over-scrupulous, sometimes ridiculous, punctuation, they committed their version of Shakspere's *Hamlet* to the compositor, who further disfigured it by numerous blunders, and thus the play was printed as we now read it in the First Folio."

## PART II.

### ON THE RELATION OF THE FIRST QUARTO OF SHAKSPERE'S *HAMLET* TO THE SECOND.

IN Furness's *New Variorum Hamlet*, vol. ii. p. 14, we read :

"The First Quarto numbers 2123 lines ; the Second Quarto about 3719. This notable difference in quantity, coupled with a marked difference in words, phrases, and even in the order of the scenes, together with a change in the names of some of the characters, has given rise to an interesting discussion, which probably will never be decided : it is whether in the Quarto of 1603 we have the first draught of Shakspere's tragedy, which the author afterwards remodeled and elaborated until it appears as we now have it substantially in the Quarto of 1604, or is the First Quarto merely a maimed and distorted version 'of the true and perfect coppie?'"

I may fairly say, that there are very few critics at present who deny that the First Quarto is a surreptitious edition, and an involuntary

caricature of some better and more complete *Hamlet*, either First Sketch or complete Play. Several critics have verified this view of the matter (see *New Var. Hamlet*, ii. pp. 24—33) in different ways; but the fact that, although agreeing in the main result, they differ more or less considerably with regard to several details of no small importance, together with the circumstance that this view still has adversaries, though few in number, will, I hope, account for a new attempt to settle this question.

The point, therefore, which we shall have to direct our chief attention to in the following investigations, will be to show that Q<sub>1</sub> is a mangled and corrupted version, a caricature, *not of a juvenile work of Shakspere*, but of the mature and perfect tragedy in the abridged form in which it was acted in 1603, little disfigured by certain interpolations of actors, but entirely free from the other *corrupteles* which were to impair the value of F<sub>1</sub>, twenty years after the publication of Q<sub>1</sub>. Without taking much notice of the observations of other critics, which will be stated and analyzed, as far as necessary, in the Second Section of this Part, I shall first subjoin the result of my comparison of Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub>, excluding those passages only that do not, on account of their little consequence, deserve a place among the more conclusive points of evidence.

### § 1.

#### Act I. i.

(1) The first Sentinel says in Q<sub>1</sub> :

3.<sup>1</sup> “O you come most carefully vpon your *wutch*.” Q<sub>2</sub> : “vpon your *houre*.”

5. Instead of *riualls* of my watch, Q<sub>1</sub> reads *partners*.

6-7. (2) *Enter Horatio and Marcellus.* They answer to the question of the first Sentinel:

7. “*Hor.* Friends to this ground.

8. *Mar.* And leegemen to the Dane.

9. O farewell honest souldier, who hath releueed you?”

The last line appears to stand without connexion. In Q<sub>2</sub> the words: “O farewell,” &c., are the necessary reply to Francisco’s :

<sup>1</sup> The outside Number gives the line in each scene of Q<sub>1</sub>.

10. "Giue you good night."

25—27. (3) "Sit down I pray, and let vs once againe  
Assaile your ears that are so fortified,  
What we haue two nights seene."

Evidently something is wanting here. Q<sub>2</sub> : "so fortified against our story, What we," &c. Thus a connexion, though somewhat loose, is effected.

34. (4) "Breake off your talke, see where it comes againe."

Q<sub>2</sub> : "Peace breake thee off, looke where," &c.

38. (5) "Most like, it *horrors* mee with feare and wonder."

Q<sub>2</sub> : "it *horrors* me."

63. (6) "In what particular to worke, I know not,  
But in the thought and scope of my opinion" . . .

Q<sub>2</sub> : "particular *thought*" and "in the gross and scope" . . .

*Thought* seems to haue got out of its proper place through the hurry of the purloiner and compiler of the material for Q<sub>1</sub>, whom we may call X.

69. (7) "And why such daily cost of brazen cannon."

Q<sub>2</sub> : "with such," &c. The Folio proves that in Q<sub>2</sub> the compositor made a mistake, whereas X *heard* the right word spoken on the stage.

76—94. (8) "Mary that can I, at least the whisper goes so," &c.  
This long speech of Horatio affords some interesting variations.

85. "His lands which he stoode seazed of by the conqueror."

Q<sub>2</sub> : "to the conqueror" alone affords sense.

Perhaps X did not think the somewhat bold expression which he found in his notes correct, and so altered it into what he cannot have understood himself.

89. "Of inapproued mettle hot and full."

Q<sub>2</sub> : "vnimproued."

In Q<sub>1</sub> as in Q<sub>2</sub> we are told of some enterprise "that hath a stomach in't." Q<sub>2</sub> states what this enterprise is, and afterwards continues: "and this is the main motiue" . . . Q<sub>1</sub> equally says, l. 93 : "And *this* (I take it) is the Chiefe head and ground of this our watch," without saying anything about the nature of the enterprise. Here there is evidently an omission in Q<sub>1</sub>.

Of the rest of this speech X saved only some poor fragments, probably only *the most accented words*, which he afterwards inserted in *his Hamlet* (Q<sub>1</sub>) as well as he could. We shall meet with numerous instances of a similar proceeding.

(9) After l. 94 the Ghost enters, so that we observe the same lacuna in Q<sub>1</sub> as in F<sub>1</sub> (Q<sub>2</sub> 108—126).

104. (10) “they say *you* Spirites oft walke.”

Q<sub>2</sub> erroneously : *your*, see No. 7.

108. (11) “’Tis gone, or we doe it wrong, being so maiesticall, to offer it the shew of violence.” This is unintelligible without Q<sub>2</sub> : “*Mar.* Shall I strike it with my partizan ?

*Hor.* Doe if it will not stand.”

113. (12) “And then it *failed* like a guilty thing.”

Q<sub>2</sub> : “it *started*.”

Compare l. 122 : “It faded on the crowing of the Cocke.”

(13) The last four speeches in this scene differ only in a few trifles from those in Q<sub>2</sub>.

115 : “trumpet to the *morning*,” instead of the more poetical *morne* in Q<sub>2</sub>.

116 : “Doth with his *early* and shrill *crowing* throat.”

Q<sub>2</sub> : “with his *lofty* and shrill *sounding*” . . .

117 : “And at his *sound*” (*sounding* of the preceding line seems to have rung in X’s ear). Q<sub>2</sub> : “his *warning*.”

126 : “And then they say, no spirit dare *walke* abroade.”

Q<sub>2</sub> : “dare *sturre* abroade.” F<sub>1</sub> : “can walke.”

131 : “But *see* the *Sunne* in russet mantle clad.”

Q<sub>2</sub> much more appropriately : “But *look* the *morne*” . . . Besides, the sun cannot yet be supposed to have risen when *Hor* speaks these words.

We must immediately pass from the Ghost to broad daylight, as Q<sub>1</sub> has it. X, in making so easy an alteration when he patched up his notes, did not notice the internal contradiction arising from his putting *Sunne* for *morne*.

### I. ii.

(14) *Enter King, Queene, Hamlet, Leartes, Corambis and the two Ambassudors, with Attendant $\text{\textless}$ . (For Q<sub>2</sub> see above, stage directions.)*

Observe that the Queen and the King are not called by their names as in Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub>. X did not know them when the scene opened. The name of Claudius, which does not occur in the text, is wanting throughout Q<sub>1</sub>. The Queene's name occurs several times in Q<sub>2</sub>; hence X had sufficient opportunity to hear it. (See, e. g., viii. 37, or l. 1174.)

*Leartes* stands throughout for *Laertes*, and *Corambis* for *Polonius*.

<sup>1</sup> viii. 30 : l. 1167 : "What is't Corambis?"

xi. 117 : l. 1556 : "Corambis | Call'd."

xiii. 6 : l. 1625 : "olde Corambis death."

The name of Polonius occurs only four times in the received text :

I. ii. 57 : "What says Polonius?"

Here Q<sub>1</sub> (ii. 21) has only what immediately precedes :

"Haue you your fathers leaue, *Leartes*?"

The second question, X had not time enough to write down. Hence this passage could not furnish him with the name of the old counsellor.

IV. i. 34 : "Hamlet in madness hath Polonius slain."

But this scene in Q<sub>1</sub>, apart from being an imitation of the abridged form as given in F<sub>1</sub>, is so different from the authentic text that it is easy to see how X, aided by memory and a few disconnected notes, which only gave a rough idea of the contents, composed this scene rather independently. Observe :

xi. 113—123 : ll. 1552—1562 :

"When as he came, I first *bespake* him faire,  
But then he throwes and tosses me about,  
As one forgetting that I was his mother:  
At last I call'd for help: and as I cried, *Corambis*  
Call'd, which Hamlet no sooner heard, but whips me  
Out his rapier, and cries a Rat. a Rat, and in his rage  
The good olde man he killles.

<sup>1</sup> The scene-and-line references (viii. 30, &c.) are to my numbers in Griggs's Facsimile : the higher line references (l. 1167, &c.) are to Furness's reprint in Vol. II. of his *Variorum Hamlet*.—F. J. F.

*King.* Why this his madnesse will vndoe our state.  
*Lordes goe to him, inquire the body out.*  
*Gil.* We will my Lord. *Exeunt Lordes."*

It is plain that X had not been able to secure the passage where the name of Polonius occurs in the authentic text, because of the hurry in which he jotted down his notes. He afterwards filled up the gaps as well as he could; hence we read, that the Queen is "thrown and tossed about." We find the King in Q<sub>1</sub>, as in F<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub>, dispatching the Lords to look for the body of Polonius; but in Q<sub>1</sub> the King has not asked before: "Where is he (Hamlet) gone?" Nor has he been told that Hamlet has drawn "apart the body he hath killed," yet only after this question and this answer could the King give the above commission to the Lords.

X, therefore, did not learn the counsellor's name from these passages either.

Polonius is again named in IV. iii. 17 and 32, both times in the King's question: "Where is Polonius?"

But here again there is abundant evidence of the deficiency of X's notes. Q<sub>1</sub>, xi. 134 : l. 1573 : "Now sonne Hamlet, where is this dead body?" The King asks the same question again : xi. 147 : l. 1586 : "But sonne *Hamlet*, where is this body?" (Compare also xi. 155 : l. 1594 : "Well sonne *Hamlet*," and Mommsen's *Proleg.* p. 168.) Hamlet in return for this parental address, dutifully styles the king '*Father*,' xi. 138, 145, 149 : ll. 1577, 1584, 1588, in this scene, as he does in several other places, whereas in the authentic text there is *not one* instance of his calling the king '*Father*'.

These instances, and the tenour of the whole scene, clearly betray the comparative independence of X in writing this scene.

The upshot of the above observations is, that X, in the hurry of taking down his notes, failed to hear the name of Polonius distinctly enough to note it down in its correct form. If we consider that to X, Polonius must have seemed a subordinate character as compared with Hamlet, Ophelia, the King, the Queen, and Horatio, and that we meet with partial distortions in the names of Gilderstone, Rossencraft, Voltemar, and Cornelius, and Leartes; that the name of Ostrick,—(which occurs twice in the *text* of Q<sub>2</sub> (V. ii. ll. 186 and 246)

and *once only* in that of F<sub>1</sub>, the former passage (the dialogue with the Lord) not being represented on the stage,)—is entirely wanting in Q<sub>1</sub> (see xviii. 61 : l. 2074<sup>1</sup>); that in like manner the name of Francisco, which also occurs only once in the opening of the piece, has not been caught by X, we may safely infer that Corambis is nothing but a distortion of the true name of Polonius. And indeed at some distance from the stage, X could easily misunderstand *Corumbis* for *Polonius*,<sup>2</sup> especially as he was busy taking down his notes.

Observe that both words are trisyllabic, that both have an *o* in the first syllable, followed by a liquid consonant, that both accent the second syllable containing a nasal consonant, and that both names have an *s* for their final consonant.

As to *Montano*, as Q<sub>1</sub> calls Reynaldo, there are not so many points of resemblance: both words are trisyllabic and show an Italian ending. Yet I think that also here we have not to do with a remnant of some older *Hamlet*, but with an arbitrary substitute for the true name of Reynaldo which X had failed to hear properly. (See also p. 176, No. 52.)

There are unmistakable proofs of the deficiency of the notes which X used to compose this scene (sc. v.). It numbers 31 lines in Q<sub>1</sub>, and about 74 in Q<sub>2</sub>. The very beginning shows how X patched up his fragments.

“*Cor.* Montano, here, these letters to my sonne,  
And this same mony with my blessing to him,  
And bid him ply his learning, good Montano.”

The last line is evidently made after the model of the words in Q<sub>2</sub>, II. i. :

“And let him ply his musique.”

The next speech (Q<sub>1</sub>, v. 5—11) almost ridiculously crude, and without connexion with what precedes it, is more instructive still:

“You shall do very well, *Montano*, to say thus,  
I knew the gentleman, or know his father,

<sup>1</sup> *King.* Giue them the foyles, 2074.

<sup>2</sup> To Mr. Daniel, Dr. Nicholson, Dr. Ingleby, and myself, these suppositions are impossible.—F. J. F.

To inquire the manner of his life,  
 As thus; being amongst his acquaintance,  
 You may say, you saw him at such a time, marke you mee,  
 At game, or drincking, swearing, or drabbing,  
 You may go so farre."

To this we may add, as a clear proof of the incompleteness of X's notes :

" *Mon.* My lord, that will impeach his reputation.

*Cor.* I faith not a whit, no not a whit,

Now happely hee closeth with you in the consequence,  
 As you may bridle it not disparage him a iote.  
 What was I about to say." (v. 13—16.)

Who is this *hee*? Doubtless this passage was as void of meaning to X himself, as to us. Yet it would be easy to trace back almost every phrase in this scene to some corresponding expression in Q<sub>2</sub>. In v. 22 : l. 653, the words 'Or at Tennis,' remind us of Q<sub>2</sub>'s: "There *falling out* at Tennis," which alone convey the idea of something blameable to our mind, whereas the words in Q<sub>1</sub> imply that the game of Tennis was something shameful in itself; a case of nonsense brought about by incompleteness. The supposition, therefore, that X did not catch the name of Reynaldo, and replaced it by another name, appears to be founded on as good grounds as any other suggested as yet. (See below.)

After this necessary digression I return to the comparison of Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub>.

(15) Of the beginning of this scene ii. (Q<sub>2</sub>, I. ii. 1—26) we find no trace here. The artificial and affected way in which the King speaks of his marriage, seems to have been too difficult for X, who at best may be supposed to have taken down a few disconnected notes, the meaning of which he could not make out afterwards. For this reason he probably dropped them altogether. The rest of the King's long speech is given thus (ii. 1—10) :

" Lordes, we here haue writ to *Fortenbrasse*,  
 Nephew to olde *Norway*, who impudent  
 And bed-rid, scarcely heares of this his  
 Nephews purpose: and Wee heere dispatch  
 Yong good *Cornelia*, and you *Voltemar*  
 For bearers of these greetings to olde

*Norway, giuing to you no further personall power  
To businesse with the King,  
Then those related articles do shew :  
Farewell, and let your haste commend your dutie."*

Even apart from *impudent* (misheard for *impotent*), from the contradiction in: "we have writ to Fortenbrasse, *Nephew*" . . . and: "greetings to old Norway," and from the unintelligibility of "*this* his Nephew's purpose," the nature of which was never stated by the King in Q<sub>1</sub>, as it is in Q<sub>2</sub> (II. ii. 17—27); it is plain that the original of Q<sub>1</sub> in this place cannot have been essentially different from Q<sub>2</sub>. X having heard about the Norwegian affair in the first scene already, was in a *terra cognita* as soon as he found the name of Fortenbrasse in his notes, and very naturally made the scene begin with this passage. The blunder of making the King say that he has written to young Fortenbrasse, is a natural consequence of the confusion in X's notes, and clearly shows that X's ambition did not go beyond producing what might be thought a sketch of the stage *Hamlet*, regardless of internal contradictions and nonsense. We shall see that we cannot even give him credit for having read over what he had botched up. We have an opportunity here of understanding the reason why the characters in Q<sub>1</sub> appear to be different from those in Q<sub>2</sub>. It is a well-established fact that the first speech of the King in Q<sub>2</sub> affords us an excellent idea of his character. Several of the most characteristic passages being left out in Q<sub>1</sub>, we cannot, of course, expect to find the King's character alike in the two editions. The same thing may be observed as to the character of Hamlet and that of the Queen. Shaksperean skill was necessary to veil the latter's guilt so admirably as to make us still hesitate to pass sentence. Suppose now some of her words are left out or given in a less skilful way,—will she not step forth at once from the dim light in which she moves in Q<sub>2</sub>? (See below, No. 27.)

(16) ii. 15—20 : ll. 155—160 :

*"Lea. My gratioues Lord, your favourable licence,  
Now that the funerall rites are all performed,  
I may haue leauue to go againe to France,  
For though the favour of your grace might stay mee,*

Yet something is there whispers in my hart,  
Which makes my minde and spirits bend all for *France*."

We may here watch X making the best of his notes. He does not hesitate to write new lines under the influence of his other notes. The second of the above lines seems to be quite different from Q<sub>2</sub>. Yet if we consider that in Q<sub>2</sub>, I. 12, the King had already used the word *funerall*, and that soon after Hamlet's deep mourning is criticised, it seems not at all unlikely that X should have used here what he had not been able to use in the right place. I should, perhaps, hesitate to utter this opinion, if similar instances were not so numerous in Q<sub>1</sub> as they really are. This same speech affords another case of the kind :

"For though the favour of your grace might stay me." . . .

This line was written merely in order not to leave the words *favour* and *gracious* (see the authentic text, 51, 56<sup>1</sup>) unused, which X found in his notes.

(17) The King at last addresses Hamlet. X unscrupulously took the concluding lines of the King's long speech from their right place and made the King begin (ii. 26 : ll. 166—172) :

"And now princely Sonne *Hamlet*,  
What meanes these sad and melancholy moodes?  
For your intent going to *Wittenberg*  
Wee hold it most vnymeet and vncouuenient,  
Being the Ioy and halfe heart of your mother.  
Therefore let mee intreat you stay in Court,  
All *Denmarkes* hope, our coosin and deerest Sonne."

The last five lines are evidently out of place here, nor does Hamlet take any notice of them, his speech answering to that in Q<sub>2</sub>. The Queen's preceding attempt at cheering up her son is wanting in Q<sub>1</sub>, and consequently Hamlet's pathetic answer : "My Lord, 'tis not the sable suite I weare," &c. (ii. 33—39), is addressed to the King, whereas, in Q<sub>2</sub>, Hamlet does not speak to the King at all in this scene. Probably X was puzzled by the King's answering to Hamlet's words as if they had been addressed to him, and made Hamlet speak

<sup>1</sup> Your leaue and fauour to returne to Fraunce . . .  
And bow them to your *gracious* leaue and pardon.

to the King, not seeing what a delicate feature of the dialogue he thus destroyed.

(18) X paid particular attention to stage-effects, to which we certainly must add rymes too. He was often in such a hurry that he did not secure both rhyming lines; and since only on hearing the second line he could be aware of there being rhyme, we sometimes find partially or wholly different rymes in Q<sub>1</sub>. Thus (ii. 38-9, ll. 178-9):

“Him haue I lost I must of force forgoe,  
These but the ornaments & sutes of woe.”

In this case X had only caught *woe*, and probably made a mark in his notes to remember that there was a rhyme. At home he substituted a rhyming line of his own, which even an enemy of Shakspere would never attribute to the poet.

(19) ii. 40—47 : ll. 180—187 :

“This shewes a louing care in you, Sonne *Hamlet*,  
But you must thinke your father lost a father,  
That father dead, lost his, and so shall be vntil the  
Generall ending. Therefore cease laments,  
It is a fault against heauen, fault against the dead,  
A fault against nature, and in reasons  
Common course most certaine  
None liues on earth, but hee is borne to die.”

If we compare the above lines with a passage from the corresponding speech in Q<sub>2</sub>, I. ii. 103-105, &c. :

“To reason most absurd, whose common theame  
Is death of fathers, and who still hath cried  
From the first course, till he hath died to-day.  
This must be so: . . .”

we observe not only how X, whose only source was what was spoken on the stage, was liable to misapprehensions (*course* for *corse*), and how, on the other hand, he noted down only the principal words, the true meaning and relation of which he did not always remember at home, so that we often meet words or phrases well known from Q<sub>2</sub>, in different, strange, and even ridiculous applications (see *reason*, *common*, *course*, in this speech).

A careful examination of Q<sub>1</sub> convinces us that, scanty as X's notes must have been, he has succeeded in introducing a surprising

number of Shakspearean words and phrases, and that he was able to do so only by acting on the principle of leaving, even of the most fragmentary notes, as few unused as possible. It is true, he was not over-scrupulous as to the propriety of the places he often assigned to them, nor can I tell whether it was illness or respect for Shakspere's words that prompted him often to insert incoherent passages, rather than to make bolder attempts at restoring connexion; but it is certain that by thus making the best of his spoils, he has succeeded in giving a certain Shakspearean air to many of his involuntary caricatures. Read, for instance, the first soliloquy of Hamlet (ii. 55—75: ll. 195—215):

(20) "O that this too much grieu'd and sallied flesh  
 Would melt to nothing, or that the vniuersall  
 Globe of heauen would turne al to a Chaos!  
 O God within two moneths, no not two: maried,  
 Mine uncle: O let me not thinke of it,  
 My fathers brother: but no more like  
 My father, then I to *Hercules*.  
 Within two months, ere yet the salt of most  
 Vnrighteous teares had left their flushing  
 In her galled eyes: she married, O God, a beast  
 Deuoyd of reason would not have made  
 Such speede: Frailtie, thy name is Woman.  
 Why she would hang on him, as if increase  
 Of appetite had growne by what it looked on.  
 O wicked wicked speede, to make such  
 Dexterite to incestuous sheetes,  
 Ere yet the shooes were olde,  
 The which she followed my dead fathers corse,  
 Like *Nyobe*, all teares: married, well it is not  
 Nor it cannot come to good:  
 But breake my heart, for I must holde my tongue."

Q<sub>2</sub> and Q<sub>1</sub> agree in reading *sallied*; F<sub>1</sub> has *solid*. This coincidence may very well be a mere accident: the Q<sub>2</sub> compositor put *sallied* for *solid* (a blunder which belongs to the very simplest and commonest class of mistakes), and X misheard 'sallied' for 'solid.' The different parts of this speech betray a slight incompleteness, which was probably the reason of their being transposed in Q<sub>1</sub> to afford at least a semblance of connexion. The words, "Or that the vniuersall Globe of heauen would turne al to a Chaos," are the

only ones not found in Q<sub>2</sub>; and it needs no further proof that this line is the work of X.

On the whole, this soliloquy, confused as it appears in Q<sub>1</sub>, shows again that the original of Q<sub>1</sub> must have been Q<sub>2</sub>, or a play almost identical with it (see No. 14).

(21) ii. 76 : l. 216 : "Health to your Lordship," misheard for "Hail to," &c., on account of the following dental consonant.

(22) ii. 85 : l. 226 : "But what is your affaire in *Elsenoure?*" was completed after ii. 91 : l. 231, where he asks the same question again.

(23) ii. 128—130 : l. 268 :

"Where as they deliuered forme of the King,  
Each part made true and good,  
The Apparition comes."

After *deliuered*, the Q<sub>2</sub> words, *both in time*, are wanting (see No. 19).

(24) ii. 134 : l. 274 : "And wee did thinke it *right done.*" Q<sub>2</sub> : *writ down.*

(25) ii. 139—145 : ll. 279—285 :

"My Lord we did, but answere made it none,  
Yet once me thought it was about to speake,  
And lifted up his head to motion,  
Like as he would speake, but even then  
The morning cocke crew lowd, and in all haste,  
It shrunke in haste away, and vanished  
Our sight."

The third line shows that X did not supply the gaps in his notes, if the nonsense was not too evident and glaring. See the second line : "it was about to speake," and the fourth : "like as he would speake"; the fifth and sixth lines : "in all *haste*," and "in *haste* away."

(26) ii. 187 : ll. 327 : "Foule deeds will rise." Q<sub>2</sub> : "Fonde deedes," a misprint. X *heard* the right word on the stage.

### I. iii.

(27) What we have observed above about the delineations of some characters in Q<sub>1</sub> (their comparative broadness and coarseness, see No.

15) holds good also with regard to Laertes. In Q<sub>2</sub> Laertes bears a certain family-likeness to his father, inasmuch as he has a rather voluble tongue, which he uses so well in his great admonitory address to his sister. In Q<sub>1</sub> Laertes blurts out what he has to say in an extremely awkward, even coarse manner.

Observe especially, iii. 9, 10 : ll. 338, 339 :

“ Belieu’t *Ophelia*, therefore keep a loofe  
Lest that he trip thy honor and thy fame ; ”

to which Ophelia answers even more bluntly still, iii. 11, 12 :

“ Brother, to this I haue lent attentiu eare,  
And doubt not but to keepe my honour firme.”

(28) The carelessness and haste with which Q<sub>1</sub> was got up (I have already observed that X seems never to have read over his work after its completion), appears very plainly from the following words of Ophelia in Q<sub>1</sub>, iii. 13—20 : ll. 342—348 :

“ But my deere brother, do not you  
Like to a cunning Sophister  
Teach me the path and ready way to heauen,  
While you forgetting what is said to me  
Your selfe, like to a carele-se libertine  
Doth give his heart, his appetite at ful,  
And little recks how that his honour dies.”

(29) In Polonius's paternal exhortations (Q<sub>2</sub>, I. iii. : ll. 55—81; Q<sub>1</sub>, iii. 27—41 : ll. 351—370) we meet with the usual omissions, with no independent addition of X's manufacture, but with a striking concurrence in a curious reading :

Q<sub>2</sub> : “ But doe not dulle thy palme with entertainment  
Of each new hatcht unfledg'd courage.”

Q<sub>1</sub> : “ But do not dulle the palme with entertain,  
Of euery new vnfledg'd courage.”

F<sub>1</sub> very plausibly reads *Comrade* for *courage*, which has been generally adopted. It has been suggested that X was aided in his dishonest work by some unscrupulous actor or lower official of the theatre, who furnished him with copies of parts of the stage-manuscript. If this could be proved to have been the case, espe-

cially with regard to this speech of Polonius, nobody would hesitate to declare *courage* in Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub> to be owing to a mistake of the Q<sub>2</sub> compositor, as well as of the stealthy purloiner of the copies for X. This supposition, however, is strongly discountenanced by the circumstance that even in the best passages in Q<sub>1</sub> there are variations which cannot be accounted for by the hurry of such an individual; and besides we must ask, is it at all probable, and does the Q<sub>1</sub> text give us any right to suppose, that X would have taken so great pains and sacrificed a sum of money to bribe such a person? Is he at all likely to have let out his secret to anybody connected with the stage. It appears at once that any such supposition contrasts very strangely with what we actually find in Q<sub>1</sub>.

It is true, there are certain *longer* speeches in Q<sub>1</sub> (for such alone are we concerned with here) bearing a close resemblance to those in Q<sub>2</sub> (*e. g.* see iv. 17—35 : ll. 415—433 : “Angels and Ministers of grace,” &c. ; and vi. 31—51 ; ll. 729—749 : “Most faire returnes,” &c.), but they are never without some alteration, omission, or addition, which clearly betray the hand of X. Perhaps X was assisted by one of his friends, who also wrote down as much as he could during the representation, and afterwards X compiled his *Hamlet*, Q<sub>1</sub>, from the united notes. This supposition not only explains why we find some tolerably complete passages in Q<sub>1</sub>, but also accounts for diplomatic blunders in it. But we cannot shut our eyes to another circumstance, namely, that *courage*, at and before Shakspere's time, had a euphuistic meaning (see collation of Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub>, p. 123), which had probably grown too unknown by 1623, and was altered, therefore, into *Comrade* by H. C. Their *emendation* was not a very happy one: the word “Comrade,” is far too tame and weak after such extraordinary epithets. “Courage,” in the meaning of “gallant” as proposed by Ingleby, is the right word in the right place: but “Comrade” offers sufficient external similarity with “courage” to account for H. C.'s hitting just on this word. At all events we need not admit *courage* as conclusive evidence of X's having had parts of the stage MS. at his command. We have seen that similar coincidences, which are laid so much stress on by the advocates of the First Sketch theory may be explained as well in several other ways.

(30) The rest of the scene exhibits the usual features of X's more independent work. His notes must have been rather confused again. Mommsen (*Proleg.* p. 166) has already called attention to the fact that X is fond of using certain beautiful or striking expressions, even whole verses, more frequently than Q<sub>2</sub>. (See iii. 50, 62 : ll. 378 and 389, and compare iv. ll. 493 and 508.)

(31) How awkwardly X sometimes distorted the meaning of some passages may be seen from iii. 59—63 : ll. 386—390 :

“Springes to catch woodcocks,  
What, do not I know when the blood doth burne,  
How prodigall the tongue lends the heart vowes,  
In briefe, be more scanter of your maiden presence,  
Or tending thus you'l tender mee a foole.”

Besides, the last line of this speech shows again that X did not reject fragmentary and disconnected notes, but used them occasionally to fill up some gap or other, not caring whether they suited the context or not.

(32) V. 58-9 : ll. 690-691. (Q<sub>2</sub>, II. i. 108—110 ; see also II. ii., 143) :

“I did repell his letters, deny his gifts,  
As you did charge me.”

These words, coupled with some poor reminiscences of Polonius's speech, seem to have prompted X to make Corambis speak the following words, iii. 65—70 : ll. 392—397 :

Ofelia, receiue none of his letters,  
“For louers lines are snares to intrap the heart :  
“Refuse his tokens, both of them are keyes  
To vnlocke Chastitie vnto Desire :  
Come in Ofelia; such men often proue,  
Great in their words, but little in their loue.

According to Q<sub>2</sub>, Polonius may have continued his exhortations to his daughter after their *exeunt*. Anyhow, Ophelia must have been told by her father not to accept any more of Hamlet's letters and presents. X, not finding this piece of Polonius's warning in his notes, came across Ophelia's words (v. 58, 59 : ll. 690, 691), and knowing the incompleteness and imperfection of his notes, very

naturally imagined that something was wanting, and added iii. 65—70 : ll. 392—395.

The metre of Q<sub>1</sub> is remarkably regular here, and the meaning quite clear, whereas the passages which X found in his notes, show his endeavours to preserve the words and phrases of Shakspere as faithfully as possible, even if sense and metre were injured by them (see Mommsen, *Proleg.*, p. 172).

#### I. iv.

(33) The hurry in which X's notes were jotted down, did not always leave him time enough to mark the rubrics, or even to notice that different characters had spoken. Hence we meet with cases where short speeches, even of different characters, are drawn together into one, and attributed to one character only. The beginning of this scene iv. shows this :

“*Ham.* The ayre bites shrewd ; it is an eager and  
An nipping winde, what houre is’t ?”

See also v. 56, 57 : ll. 688, 689, and Q<sub>2</sub>, I. iv. 84, 107. But sometimes X seems to have proceeded thus intentionally. See vi. 57—62 : ll. 755—760.

[34]. After iv. 15 : l. 413, ‘in the obseruance,’ we observe the same lacuna<sup>1</sup> as in F<sub>1</sub> (I. iv. 16—38).

(34) iv. 8 ; l. 406 :

Q<sub>1</sub>. “And as he dreames, his draughts of renish down.”

Q<sub>2</sub>. “And as he draines his drafts of Rennish down.”

(35) After iv. 42 : l. 440, there is a transposition of several speeches (see No. 17) which, trifling as it may seem in itself, is worthy of remark, inasmuch as it shows how X, finding some incompleteness and obscurity in his notes, changed the order of the speeches rather than the words themselves. We shall meet with something similar below (No. 44), though it is not single speeches, but whole parts of scenes, that are transposed there.

#### I. v.

(36) Some of the short introductory speeches in the scene between the Ghost and Hamlet are wanting in Q<sub>1</sub>. Perhaps the excitement

<sup>1</sup> About drunkenness. ‘This heauy headed reueale,’ &c.

and impression of the scene were too keen to let X and his assistant think of their business at once. In like manner we may trace the increasing interest of the plot in the increasing deficiency of Q<sub>1</sub> in the later acts.

(37) Of the Ghost's long speech (iv. 102—127 : ll. 500—525), which is kept in tolerable condition in Q<sub>1</sub>, I shall only give six lines, iv. 122—7 :

“ Thus was I sleeping by a brothers hand  
Of Crowne, of Queene, of life, of dignitie  
At once deprived, no reckoning made of,  
But sent vnto my graue  
With all my *accompys* and sinnes vpon my head.  
O horrible, most horrible !

These lines, as well as the whole speech, exhibit the usual traces of X's hand, *e.g.* Q<sub>2</sub>, I. v. 79 : “sent to my *account*.”

(38) iv. 144 : l. 542 :

“ Yes, yes, by heauen, a damnd pernicious villaine.”

X had not caught the substantive belonging to *pernicious*, and so put this adjective to *villaine* : Q<sub>2</sub>.

“ O most pernicious woman,  
O villaine, villaine, smiling damned villaine.”

(39) iv. 196 : ll. 593-5 :

“ Ha, ha, come you here, this fellow in the sellerige,  
Here consent to sweare.”

We observe that *this fellow in the sellerige* stands utterly without connexion with what precedes or follows. Q<sub>2</sub> shows very plainly how this came to pass :

“ Ha, ha, boy, say'st thou so, art thou there trupenny ?  
*Come on, you heare*, this fellowe in the Sellerige,  
Consent to sweare.”

The whole variation rests upon omission, and a mistake of the ear—*here* for *heare*.

### Act II. i.

The dialogue between Polonius and Reynaldo has already been spoken of above. (See No. 14 :

(40) Referring the reader to the remark made under No. 32, I subjoin two speeches of Ofelia, in which she imparts to her father the news of Hamlet's madness, v. 33-6, 38-55 :

“ O my deare father, such a change in nature,  
So great an alteration in a Prince,  
So pitifull to him, fearefull to mee,  
A maidens eye ne're looked on.”

(Compare vi. 201: l. 898). After a short interruption she continues :

“ O yong Prince *Hamlet*, the only floure of *Denmark*,  
Hee is bereft of all the wealth he had,  
The Iewell that adorn'd his feature most  
Is filcht and stolne away, his wit's bereft him,  
Hee found mee walking in the gallery all alone,  
There comes hee to mee with a distracted looke,  
His garters lagging downe, his shooes vntide,  
And fixt his eyes so steadfast on my face,  
As if they had vow'd, this is their latest obicct.  
Small while he stoode, but gripes me by the wrist,  
And there he holdes my pulse till with a sigh  
He doth vnclaspe his holde, and parts away  
Silent, as is the mid time of the night:  
And as he went, his eie was still on mee,

For thus his head ouer his shoulder looked,  
He seemed to finde the way without his eies :  
For out of doores he went, without their helpe,  
And so did leave me.”

It is hard to imagine how it could ever be believed that Q<sub>1</sub> was merely a bad print of a juvenile work of Shakspere. The above speech was certainly not paid attention to by those who held that opinion. Nobody can reasonably deny that these speeches cannot have come in this condition from Shakspere or any other poet's mind as original compositions. But, on the other hand, it is impossible not to see how easily and satisfactorily all their trash and crudeness, as well as their evident connexion with the corresponding speeches in Q<sub>2</sub>, are accounted for if we suppose X to have jotted down some notes in the theatre, and afterwards used them for his imitation of this scene. His chief source in this case was his

memory. Who could forget such a scene, and such a tale, especially when told by such a character?

(41) v. 60—6 : ll. 692—698 :

“ Why that hath made him madde :  
 By heau'n 'tis as proper to our age to cast  
 Beyond our selues, as 'tis for the younger sort.  
 To leaue their wantonnesse. Well, I am sory  
 That I was so rash ; but what remedy ?  
 Lets to the King, this madnesse may prooue,  
 Though wilde a while, yet more true to thy loue.”

It is easy in these lines to distinguish what X found in his notes, and what he added to fill up the gaps. How shortsighted and careless he was in doing so, may be seen from the words : *to leaue their wantonnesse*. The last two lines seem to be strangely different from those in Q<sub>2</sub>. But if we consider that X had probably made a mark in his notes to remember that *loue* rhymed with another word which he had lost, and that the rhyme is exactly the same here as in a former passage where X had been obliged to work rather independently (see No. 32), it is plain that X wrote these lines merely for the sake of the rhyme, regardless of the plot. By them we are led to think that Polonius entertained ambitious hopes to see Ophelia become some day the wife of the Prince.

In vi. 82-4 : ll. 780—783 :

“ Now when I saw this letter, thus I bespake my maiden :  
 Lord *Humlet* is a Prince out of your starre,  
 And one that is vnequall for your loue,”

the same Corambis speaks as his original, Polonius, does in Q<sub>2</sub>.

### Act II. ii.

(42) vi. 1—8 :

“ *King*. Right noble friends, that our deere cosin Hamlet  
 Hath lost the very heart of all his sence,  
 It is most right, and we most sory for him :  
 Therefore we doe desire, euen as you tender  
 Our care to him, and our great loue to you,  
 That you will labour but to wring from him  
 The cause and ground of his distemperancie.  
 Doe this, the King of *Denmarke* shal be thankefull.”

Apart from the leading idea that the King wishes Rosencrans and Guildenstern to act the part of spies near Hamlet, this speech is entirely the work of X.

The metre is remarkably smooth again, which reminds us of a similar case (see No. 32).

(43) The amusing silliness of Polonius requires more skill and ‘finesse’ to be properly imitated than X can be allowed to have possessed. Hence we find the following poor ruins of Shaksperean splendour (vi. 57—62 : ll. 755—760) :

“This busines is very well dispatched.  
Now my Lord touching the yong Prince Hamlet,  
Certaine it is that hee is madde : mad let vs grant him then :  
Now to know the cause of this effect,  
Or else to say the cause of this defect,  
For this effect defectiue comes by cause.”

It is hard to imagine that X had any other original for these lines than Q<sub>2</sub>, especially if we consider what has been observed under No. 33. The whole scene in Q<sub>1</sub> is very free and independent as regards words and phrases, and would be equally so in its contents if it had not been so very easy to remember it with tolerable completeness, especially when aided by a few notes.

(44) The remarkable fact that the famous soliloquy of Hamlet and the following dialogue with Ofelia stands in Q<sub>1</sub> where in Q<sub>2</sub> we have Hamlet’s Fishmonger dialogue (*sit venia verbo*), with Polonius, has been explained in differentways (see *New Var. Hamlet*, II. pp. 20, 29). In the latter place we read the following remark of Grant White : “And yet according to the imperfect, as well as the perfect, text, Ophelia is not upon the stage.” White, in making this objection, must have forgotten the stage-direction—*Enter Corambis and Ofelia*, after vi. 18 : l. 716. There is not only a transposition here, but also a difference concerning the characters that make their appearance in this scene. If we bear in mind what has been said (Nos. 35, 17), about the transposition of speeches, and (No. 32) about the mistake of X in adding (iii. 65—70 : ll. 392—395), “Ofelia receiue none of his letters,” &c. ; if we further observe, how incomplete notes and in-

exact reminiscences induced X to let Corambis speak the following words (vi. 104—110 : ll. 802—806):

“ Mary my good lord thus,  
The Princes walke is here in the galery,  
There let *Ojelia* walke vntill hee comes :  
Your selfe and I will stand close in the stuly,  
There shall you heare the effect of all his hart,  
And if it proue any otherwise then loue,  
Then let my censure faile an other time,—

we need not look any further for the reason of this transposition.

The above lines do not express, as they do in Q<sub>2</sub>, that the Prince walks *only sometimes* in the gallery, but, “The Princes walke is here in the gallery,” *i. e.* he walks there *regularly*. They do not say that Polonius is going to “loose his daughter to him ‘at such a time,’” but they show Corambis’s intention of carrying out his design without delay :

“ There let *Ojelia* walke vntill hee comes.”

X was thus driven into a corner by his own improvidence, and had to transpose, or rather insert, the scene in question (together with a portion of the short dialogue between the King and Corambis consequent upon it), so as to make it follow immediately after Corambis’s proposal.

Apart from this insertion and from viii. 24—40 : ll. 1161—1177 (“Madame, I pray be ruled by me,” &c.), which clearly consist partly of X’s own interpolation (compare viii. 26-7 : ll. 1163—1165 with viii. 1-2 : ll. 1138, s.) and partly of the rest of the just-mentioned dialogue between the King and Polonius (the lines at the end of Q<sub>2</sub>, III. i.) which X simply *left in its proper place*, and which proves better than anything else that the original of Q<sub>1</sub> cannot have differed from Q<sub>2</sub> in the order of scenes: apart from these two exceptions, we find that the succession of the different scenes is the same in Q<sub>1</sub> as in Q<sub>2</sub>. For this reason we had better call the present case an *insertion*, and not a *transposition*, for the “Fishmonger dialogue” does not stand in the place of the transposed scene in the third Act.

After X had once begun to depart from his original, he saw himself obliged to make certain other alterations closely connected with

this one. When the dialogue between Hamlet and Ofelia had come to an end, X could not make Corambis "board" him immediately after. Therefore, he lumped together fragments of the dialogue between the King and Polonius, and some lines of his own manufacture, to effect a kind of transition.

vii. 1—6 : ll. 902—906 :

"*King.* Loue ? No, no, that's not the cause,  
Some deeper thing it is that troubles him.

*Cor.* Wel, something it is : my Lord, content you a while,  
I will my selfe goe feele him : let me worke,  
Ile try him euery way : see where he comes,  
Send you those Gentlemen, let me alone,  
To finde the depth of this, away, be gone."

This is followed by the "Fishmonger dialogue." The words :—

"*Send you those Gentlemen*"

may be a stray note of the first part of the scene (III. i.), where Ros. and G. are commissioned to sound Hamlet.

(45) vii. 26—31 : ll. 927—932 : show again, how X melted together the ruins of separate speeches. (Compare No. 33) :

" How pregnant his replies are, and full of wit :  
Yet at first he tooke me for a fishmonger :  
All this comes by loue, the vemencie of loue  
And when I was yong, I was very idle,  
And suffered much extasie in loue, very neere this :  
Will you walke out of the aire my Lord ? "

With this compare Q<sub>2</sub>, III. i : ll. 206, ss. ; 187, ss. : and l. 204. The same thing is to be said of vii. 36-8 : ll. 937—939 :

" You can take nothing from me sir,  
I will more willingly part with all,  
Olde doating foole" (Q<sub>2</sub>, II. ii. 220-4).

(46) There are few passages so illustrative of the deficiency of X's notes, and of the awkwardness and bluntness of his work consequent upon it, as vii. 40—60 : ll. 944—961 :

" *Gil.* Health to your Lordship.

*Ham.* What, Gilderstone, and Rossencraft,  
Welcome kinde Schoole-fellowes to *Elsanoure*.

*Gil.* We thanke your Grace, and would be very glad  
You were as when we were at *Wittenberg*.

*Ham.* I thanke you, but is this visitation free of  
Your selues, or were you not sent for?  
Tell me true, come, I know the good King and Queene  
Sent for you, there is a kind of confession in your eye:  
Come, I know you were sent for.

*Gil.* What say you?

*Ham.* Nay then I see how the winde sits,  
Come, you were sent for.

*Boss.* My Lord, we were, and willingly if we might,  
Know the cause and ground of your discontent.

*Ham.* Why I want preferment.

*Ross.* I thinke not so my lord.

*Ham.* Yes faith, this great world you see contents me not,  
No nor the spangled heauens, nor earth nor sea,  
No nor Man that is so glorious a creature,  
Contents not me, no nor woman too, though you laugh."

It is quite inconceivable that any poet should have written this dialogue in the above form, and it is equally hard to imagine that any other version than that of Q<sub>2</sub> should have been its source, considering how completely and satisfactorily the Q<sub>2</sub> version accounts for all the points of resemblance, and the supposition of imperfect notes for the omissions and additions.

Hamlet's words : "Why I want preferment," bear only in their fundamental idea of *ambition* some resemblance to the corresponding lines in the authentic text (F<sub>1</sub>, II. ii. 246—259). The outward form of this answer is perhaps due to Q<sub>2</sub>, III. ii. 354—"Sir, I lack advancement." In Q<sub>1</sub> this is wanting in the right place, *i. e.* after ix. 188 : l. 1360. With quite a similar case we meet in vii. 110 : l. 1070—"Stil harping a my daughter!" Q<sub>2</sub>, II. ii. 390—"Still on my daughter!" X had found the disconnected exclamation: " Still harping a my daughter," in his notes of the preceding part of this scene (Q<sub>2</sub>, II. ii. 188), but not being able to make any use of it there, and unwilling to reject it altogether, besides, thinking perhaps he had left out a word in " Still on my daughter," he used it as a corrective, and wrote vii. 110 : l. 1010.

(47) vii. 78—88 : ll. 978—988 :

" *Ham.* I doe not greatly wonder of it,  
For those that would make mops and moes  
At my uncle, when my father liued,

Now giue a hundred, two hundred pounds  
 For his picture: but they shall be welcome,  
 He that playes the King shall haue tribute of me,  
 The ventrous Knight shall vse his foyle and target,  
 The louer shall sigh gratis,  
 The clown shall make them laugh  
 That are tickled in the lungs, or the blanke verse shall halt for't,  
 And the lady shall haue leauie to speake her minde freely."

Here again, two separate speeches have been lumped together,  
 Q<sub>2</sub>, II. ii. 80 and 332 (see Nos. 45, 33).

(48) As a specimen of the nonsense that X sometimes produced out of his poor notes, when they treated of things he did not quite understand, I subjoin the words of Corambis (vii. 100-5 : ll. 1000—1005):

"The best Actors in Christendome  
 Either for Comedy, Tragedy, Historie, Pastorall,  
 Pastorall, Historicall, Histouricall, Comicall,  
 Comicall historicall, Pastorall, Tragedy historicall:  
*Seneca* cannot be too heauy, nor *Plato* too light:  
 For the law hath writ those are the onely men."

For similar instances of X's indifference to the sense or nonsense of his imitations see iv. 14, vii. 154, vii. 133-6, vii. 187, ix. 167 : ll. 645, 1054, 1033—1036, 1087, and 1330.

(49) vii. 125 : l. 1025 : "French Falconers" (Folio 1). Q<sub>2</sub> : "friendly Faulkners" (see No. 26).

(50) vii. 144 : l. 1044 : "th' arganian beast." Q<sub>2</sub> : "Th' irca-nian beast." II. ii. 472.

vii. 155 : l. 1055 : "Rifled in earth and fire." Q<sub>2</sub> : "rosted in wrath and fire." II. ii. 486.

vii. 173 : l. 1073 : "with tongue inuenom'd speech." And Q<sub>2</sub> : "with tongue in venom steept." II. ii. 533. See *New Var. Hamlet*, ii., p. 61, footnote.

(51) Of the Player's declamation (first part) X has only saved the first six lines, yet Corambis exclaims (as Polonius does in Q<sub>2</sub>) :

"Enough, my friend, 'tis too long." vii. 164 : l. 1064.

Evidently a considerable number of lines must be wanting to explain and justify this objection of Corambis. Again, we must conclude

that the original of Q<sub>1</sub> cannot have differed essentially from Q<sub>2</sub>, as regards the contents as well as the length of the speeches.

(52) vii. 195, 196 : ll. 1095 and 1096 are particularly worthy of remark :

*"Ham. Come hither maisters, can you not play the murder of Gonsago?"*

Now compare ix. 139—141 : ll. 1311—1313 :

“ . . . . this play is  
The image of a murderd one in *guyana*, *Albertus*  
Was the Dukes name, his wife *Baptista*.”

X had not understood that *Gonsago* was the Duke's name, nor does he seem to have been aware of the fact, that “the murder of *Gonsago*” (vii. 196 : l. 1096) was the play acted before the Court, or, if he knew thus much, that he had already mentioned the Duke's name before ; and so he simply substituted the name of *Albertus*, as he had done before with that of *Montano*.

If X had not been so thoughtless as he was, the name of *Albertus* might also be believed to be one of the supposed remnants of “*the older play*.” Fortunately X himself has rendered such a view impossible, and we may safely use this case as a support of what has been asserted in No. 14.

(53) As a last specimen of X's style, I give *Hamlet's soliloquy* (2nd Act) in full (vii. 207—237 : ll. 1107—1137) :

“ Why what a dunghill idiote slaye am I ?  
Why these Players here draw water from eyes :  
For Hecuba, why what is Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba ?  
What would he do and if he had my losse ?  
His father murdred, and a Crowne bereft him,  
He would turne all his teares to droppes of blood.  
Amaze the standers by with his lamentes,  
Strike more then wonder in the iudicall eares,  
Confound the ignorant, and make mute the wise,  
Indeede his passion would be generall.  
Yet I like to an asse and Iohn a Dreames,  
Hauing my father murdred by a villaine,  
Stand still, and let it passe, why sure I am a coward :  
Who pluckes me by the beard, or twites my nose,  
Giue's me the lie i'th throate downe to the lungs,  
Sure I should take it, or else I haue no gall,

Or by this I should a fatted all the region kites  
 With this slaves offell, this damned villaine,  
 Treacherous, bawdy, murderous villaine :  
 Why this is braue, that I the sonne of my deare father,  
 Should like a scalion, like a very drabbe,  
 Thus raile in wordes. About my braine,  
 I haue heard that guilty creatures sitiing at a play,  
 Hath, by the very cunning of the scene, confess a murder  
 Committed long before.  
 This spirit that I haue seene may be the Diuell ;  
 And out of my weaknesse and my melancholy,  
 As he is very potent with such men,  
 Doth seeke to damne me, I will haue sounder proofes,  
 The play's the thing,  
 Wherein Ile catch the conscience of the King."

There is nothing in these lines—as little as in the whole of the first two acts—that points to another original than Q<sub>2</sub>, and nothing that could not be easily and satisfactorily explained by means of our supposition, that X's notes, though better here than in many other places, were imperfect, and sometimes unintelligible, so that we find omissions, additions, and other alterations, owing to the evident care and attention with which X endeavoured to give a kind of connexion to the different parts of this soliloquy.

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We have thus arrived at the end of the second act. The general feature of the remaining acts is, that they are considerably more garbled, and much more unscrupulously botched up from scanty notes, than the first two acts; so much so, in fact, that their wretched condition has given rise to the theory that Q<sub>1</sub> represents the tragedy of *Hamlet*, not after its complete revision and amplification by Shakspere, but in a transitory state, Shakspere not having gone "much beyond the second act" in his remodelling the piece! I shall have occasion below to examine this theory.<sup>1</sup> I have compared the whole of Q<sub>1</sub> with Q<sub>2</sub>, and the impression I have received is, that the growing interest of the plot, coupled with the increasing tiredness which X and his companion very naturally were seized with, together, perhaps,

<sup>1</sup> See my refutation of it in my Forewords to Griggs's *Facsimile of Hamlet, Q<sub>2</sub>.*—F. J. F.

with some *gêne* or other in the theatre, induced X and his friend to note down less than they had done during the first two acts.

They were content to secure so much, at least, as would enable X to glean the general development of the action from their notes. Besides two acts of the piece, reproduced with tolerable faithfulness, were quite sufficient, according to X's policy, to take in the public. Whatever may have been the true cause of the bad condition of the latter and greater part of Q<sub>1</sub>, we shall see that we have no occasion to recur to so artificial and far-fetched a supposition as that of a partial remodelling of the piece by Shakspere. We have not yet come across any serious obstacle to our view of the matter, nor shall we meet with any such in the last three acts, but shall find numerous points supporting our opinion.

That Q<sub>1</sub> is a garbled and mutilated edition of some more complete text, and that it is more imperfect towards the end than in the beginning, I take for granted. The question can only be this:

Is it necessary to suppose that any other version than the stage-version of Q<sub>2</sub> was the original? Or:

Does our supposition concerning the nature and origin of Q<sub>1</sub>, and its relation to Q<sub>2</sub>, sufficiently explain all the differences between Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub>?

In giving above copious specimens of the first two acts of Q<sub>1</sub>, and comparing them with the corresponding passages in Q<sub>2</sub>, I had two objects in view: first, to enable the reader to form an idea of X's style of writing, of his manner of proceeding in puzzling circumstances, and of what might be expected of a man, who, even when taking no small pains as he did in the first two acts of Q<sub>1</sub>, did not reproduce anything better than those two acts; secondly, to gain a firm stand-point for examining the last three acts.

I need not dwell on the general likeness of the action in Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub>. See Furness's Reprint of Q<sub>1</sub> (*New Var. Hamlet*, vol. II.), with marginal references to the corresponding passages in Q<sub>2</sub>.<sup>1</sup> I shall call the reader's attention to particularly striking passages, and to such details as may serve as a complement to Furness's<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also Griggs's *Facsimile* of Q<sub>1</sub>, with my marginal references to the Globe edition of *Hamlet*.—F. J. F.

references. But my chief object will be to show that the differences between Q<sub>2</sub> and Q<sub>1</sub>, in the last three acts, arose in the same way as those in the first two. For this purpose I shall have continually to refer the reader to the different observations made above, of which I subjoin a systematic summary to facilitate the necessary references.

(a). X's ignorance (nonsense in Q<sub>1</sub>): No. 48. His indifference, negligence, and want of circumspection: Nos. 13, 15, 28, 41, 52.

(b). X's principle, to use as many of his notes as possible (though often in the wrong place) and to avoid alteration, if it was not absolutely necessary. Hence the "Shaksperean air" of many passages otherwise quite miserable: Nos. 6, 16, 19, 20, 25, 31, 37.

(c). X's work is characterized by—

I. Nonsense, absurdities, and many vulgarisms: Nos. 31, 32.

II. Repetition of the same phrases: No. 30.

III. Expletives (words and phrases), too frequent to require any quotation.

IV. Expressions formed after other models: Nos. 12, 22.

V. Comparatively smooth metre in independent passages: Nos. 32, 42.

VI. Shallow and unpoetical diction: Nos. 1, 4, 8, and very frequently throughout Q<sub>1</sub>.

VII. Keeping or imitation of rhymes: Nos. 18, 32, 41.

VIII. Alterations in the order of speeches and scenes, together with frequent attempts at adapting such displaced passages to their new context: Nos. 17, 35, 44.

IX. Neglect and obliteration of characteristics: Nos. 15, 17, 27, 43.

(d). Consequences of the incompleteness of X's notes, and of their having been written during the representation of the piece.

I. Simple omissions: Nos. 15, 36, 51.

II. Omissions together with contractions, which are sometimes very awkward: Nos. 8, 33, 38, 45, 47.

III. Omissions coupled with injurious effects upon sense and connexion (see *a* and *c ix.*): Nos. 2, 3, 11, 23.

IV. Mistakes of the ear: No. 15 (impudent).

V. X has heard aright where Q<sub>2</sub> exhibits a typographical error: Nos. 7, 10, 26, 49.

VI. Q<sub>1</sub> shows the same abbreviations as F<sub>1</sub>: Nos. 9, [34].

Nos. 14, 29, 40, 46, and 53 must be considered separately.

### Act III. i.

viii. 1—4 : ll. 1138-41 : b. See Q<sub>2</sub>, II. ii. 10—12; III. i. 1—4.

viii. 9—12 : ll. 1146-49 : III. i. 18—20 and 22 ; d. II.

viii. 15-16 : 1152-53 ; c. I.

viii. 18 : 1155. See viii. 6 : 1153 and vi. 9 : 1. 706 ; c. VI. and IV.

viii. 22 : 1159. See viii. 9 : 1146, and viii. 14 : 1151 Q<sub>2</sub>. III. i. 25, c. II.

viii. 24—29 : 1161-66. Compare viii. 1, 2 : 1138, 1139 ; c. I., II., IV.

viii. 31-6 : 1168-73. See vi. 103 : 1 802 : b.

viii. 37 : 1174. See 1150 ; II. ii. 80 ; c. II.

viii. 38—40 : 1175-77 ; c. I. and VII.

Here ought to follow the famous soliloquy, "To be," &c., which in Q<sub>1</sub> fills vi. 117—139, ll. 815—837. It affords instances of most of the peculiarities of Q<sub>1</sub> pointed out in the summary. Observe that ll. 832, vi. 134, 125, and 823, "But for a hope of something after death," and "But for this, the ioyfull hope of this," contradict a considerable portion of the Q<sub>1</sub> speech. Instead of *hope* and *ioyfull hope* above, *fear* is required to make sense.

vi. 140—161 : ll. 838—858. On the whole, this dialogue between Hamlet and Ophelia is remarkably complete in Q<sub>1</sub>, but it shows unmistakable proofs of having passed through X's hands: c. VIII. and IX. ; d. III.

vi. 160-1 : 857, 858 : c. VII.

vi. 165—200 : 862—897; c. II. In Q<sub>2</sub> Hamlet advises Ophelia *five* times to go to a nunnery ; in Q<sub>1</sub> *eight* times.

vi. 201-4 : 898—901. See 664, 1660 : c. II. ; d. I.

vii. 1—7 : 902—908. This part, properly belonging to the conclusion of III. i., has already been spoken of above, c. I. ; d. I.

## Act III. ii.

ix. 1—13 : 1178—1189. Compare 1180 : ix. 4 ; ix. 12, 13 : 1188-89 ; c. I. ; d. I., II. For bellowed, see ix. 20 : 1195.

ix. 24-5 : 1199—1200 ; c. VIII.

ix. 26—32 : Though ll. 1201—1207 are tolerably well kept, they do not deny their origin.

ix. 27 : 1202 : “I can tell you,” c. III. It must have been glaring abuses, generally known and blamed, that induced Shakspere to take the field against bad actors. If X only managed to note down that there was some expostulation against bad players, he cannot have been at a loss what to write,—indeed, ix. 33—43 : ll. 1208—1218, show that he surpassed even Shakspere himself in blaming and ridiculing bad actors :

“ And then you haue some agen, that keepes one sute  
 Of ieasts, as a man is knowne by one sute of  
 Apparell, and Gentlemen quotes his ieasts downe  
 In their tables, before they come to the play, as thus :  
 Cannot you stay till I eate my porridge ? and, you owe me  
 A quarter’s wages : and, my coate wants a cullison :  
 And, your beere is sowre : and, blabbering with his lips,  
 And thus keeping in his cinkapase of ieasts,  
 When, God knows, the warme Clowne cannot make a iest,  
 Vnlesse by chance, as the blinde man catcheth a hare :  
 Maisters tell him of it.”

Hunter (*New Var. Haml.* I. p. 230, notes) finds that this addition is “not without marks of the hand of Shakspere”; but I must object first, that X, meddling so much with Shaksperean phrases, could not help acquiring as much of ‘the tune’ and ‘outward habit’ of Shakspere as we find in every caricature; and then, there are internal reasons which lead me to think that these lines are an independent addition of X’s own manufacture. We must remember that Shakspere, himself an actor, cannot be supposed to have contended against what he knew to be a necessary evil, an inevitable theatrical calamity, viz. repetition of jests. Are not our best modern comics “known by a sute of jests,” which is but rarely varied or replaced by a new suit? As long as the jests were tolerably good, the actor Shakspere is not likely to have objected to so natural a drawback. But the public?

We all know with what uneasiness and even repugnancy we listen to the same pun a second or third time, and how impatient we are of persons who always tell the same stories over and over again. X, one of the public, shared the common feeling in this respect, and probably considered the repetition of the same jests as a greater inconvenience than all the other abuses criticized by Shakspere. Besides, how should we account for the absence of the lines in question from Q<sub>2</sub> as well as from F<sub>1</sub>? But there is also external evidence supporting our supposition. In ix. 33—35 : ll. 1208—1210 : plural verbs end in s ; in ix. 41 : l. 1216, the slang application of *warm* ; the feeble *point* in ix. 41-2 : ll. 1216, 1217. Compare, moreover, *Maisters* in ix. 43 : l. 1218, to “Come hither, maisters,” vii. 195 : 1095 (II. ii. 562). If any one should doubt X’s ability to compose such an independent passage, let him examine the rhymed *Play* in the play, where we likewise observe great independence in the details, though the upshot of the dialogue is the same as in Q<sub>2</sub>. Most of the absurdities in Q<sub>1</sub> arise from X’s leading principle stated under (b), and from the circumstances mentioned under d. I.—IV., and we should indeed wrong X if we considered ix. 33—43, ll. 1208—1218, to be beyond his abilities.

ix. 46 : l. 1221 : “*Hor.* Here, my Lord.” Hamlet does not call Horatio, as he does in Q<sub>2</sub> (III. ii. 52—57), yet Horatio enters as if he had been called ; d. I. and III.

ix. 50—64 : 1225-39 ; d. I., II. ; c. I., II., VI.

ix. 65—67 : 1240-42 ; c. VI.

After ix. 68 : l. 1243 (d. I.), Q<sub>2</sub> adds : “I must be idle.” Nevertheless X makes Hamlet talk *sheer nonsense*, showing thus that he took the *feignedness of Hamlet’s madness for granted*. We also have a case of c. IX. here : in Hamlet’s seeming nonsense there is usually a deep hidden meaning, which is entirely lost in Q<sub>1</sub>: see e.g. ix. 71 : l. 1246 ; d. I. ; c. IX. ; III. ii. 101, 104 (?) ; d. I.

ix. 82-3 : 1256—59 ; d. V. In Q<sub>2</sub>, accidental omission, but mark ix. 82 : l. 1256 : ‘*and so forth*,’ which looks as if X had thoughtlessly allowed an “&c.” to pass from his notes into the Text.

The description of the dumb-show after ix. 85 : l. 1259, answers to what we are entitled to expect according to our supposition.

For *Lucianus*, see ix. 145 : l. 1317.

ix. 86 : 1261 ; *d.* V. (myching Mallico) and *d.* IV. (my chiefe).

ix. 100—131 : 1274—1304. The dialogue between the Player-king and Player-Queen numbers 32 lines in Q<sub>1</sub>, and 75 lines in Q<sub>2</sub>.

ix. 103-5 : 1277—79 : ‘straines Of musicke,’ &c., is simply owing to X’s wish to find a rhyme for *veines*.

Furness’s Reprint of Q<sub>1</sub> here points out the corresponding passages in Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub> with sufficient completeness. The differences are accounted for by *d.* II. ; *c.* I. ; *b.*

ix. 149 : 1320—1331 ; *c.* VIII.

ix. 176 : 1346 ; *d.* II.

ix. 177—183 : 1347—1354 (See F<sub>1</sub>) ; *d.* V. and II., III. ii. 298, 308, 314, 318 (?) ; *d.* I.

ix. 183 : 1355 ; *b.*

ix. 188 : 1360 : III. 12. 323 ; *b.*

ix. 212—221 : 1383—1392 : Q<sub>2</sub>. IV. ii. 12—20 ; *c.* VIII.

ix. 136. (Compare Q<sub>2</sub>, 1368 and IV. ii. 27 and 29 ; *b.*)

In both cases the displaced passages have left no trace in their proper places.

ix. 238-9 : 1409-10 ; *c.* VIII.

III. iii. 1—45 : omitted in Q<sub>1</sub>, a case of *d.* III., because III. i. 166—175, 185—187 (?170—182, 198—221), III. iv. 200—211, are also wanting in Q<sub>1</sub>; yet the King speaks to the Queen (xi. 124—131 : ll. 1563-70) as if she had known his intention long ago.

xi. 129-130 : ll. 1568-69 point to III. i. 171—173 (?) ; *c.*

x. 1—13 ; 1411—1423 ; *b.* *d.I.* X’s notes must have been very poor here, as this speech exhibits a little more independence than usual. Yet it is not hard to point out some of the expressions which he surely gleaned from his scanty notes : ‘When I looke vp,’ (III. iii. 150), ‘murder of a brother’—‘white as snow’ (this very naturally suggested to X what we read in x. 8 : l. 1418).

x. 6. 1416 ; *c.* IX.

x. 10 : 1420 reminds of Q<sub>2</sub>, III. 353.

x. 12 : 1421 (*c.* I.) is X’s own addition.

x. 14—29 : ll. 1424-39 are kept in a tolerable condition.

x. 21-2 : 1431-32 : Q<sub>1</sub> and F<sub>1</sub> afford the same sense and prove Q<sub>2</sub> to be wrong ; *d.* V.

x. 30, 31 : 1440-41 ; *c.* VII.

xi. 16—18 : 1457-59 ; *d.* III. In Q<sub>2</sub> Hamlet asks. ‘Is it the King?’ and his disappointment is expressed by the words: ‘Rash intruding foole, I took thee for thy better.’

xi. 23-6 : 1464-67 : III. iv. 88—91 ; and 19, 20 ; *c.* VIII. and *b.*

xi. 27 : 1468 : III. iv. 39, 40 ; III. iv. 40—52 ; *d.* I.

xi. 28—46 : 1469-87. X’s notes were again very scanty ; to make up for their deficiency, he inserted fragments of other passages.

xi. 30, 32 : 1472 and 1474 ; vulgarisms ; *c.* I.

xi. 34-5 : 1475-76 ; see I. v. 49, 50 ; *c.*

xi. 38 : 1479 ; see III. ii. 79 ; *b.*

xi. 39—41 : 1480-82 ; absurdities ; *c.* I.

Before and after xi. 43 : l. 1484, we have two cases of *d.* VI. (see Q<sub>2</sub> III. iv. 71—76, and 78—81).

xi. 46 : 1487 ; III. iii. 90 ; *b.*

xi. 47 : 1488 : For the rest of this broken-up speech see xi. 25-6 : 1466, 1467 ; *c.* VIII.

xi. 48-9 : 1489-90 : III. iv. 102 ; *c.* VIII.

xi. 51-3 : 1492-94 : III. iv. 91—94 ; *c.* I.

xi. 55-8 : 1496-99 : III. iv. 68, 69 ; 82—88 ; *c.* VIII.

xi. 59, 60 : 1500, 1501 : III. i. 156 ; *c.* I. (‘thou cleaves,’ Vulg.).

Through the transposition the beautiful construction of the scene has been seriously injured. How cleverly Shakspere makes the Ghost enter when Hamlet is at the very height of his excitement, raging against the ‘King of shreds and patches,’ and how awkwardly the Ghost appears in Q<sub>1</sub>.

xi. 62-4 : 1502-4 ; *c.* I (‘powers with . . . wings’) ; Q<sub>2</sub> reads *guards* for *powers*.

xi. 67—70 : 1507—1510 : III. 4, 125—130 ; *d.* II.

xi. 71—77 : 1511—1517 ; *c.* I. Compare Q<sub>2</sub>, III. iv. 112, ‘looke, amazement,’ and x. 74-5, ll. 1514-15.

xi. 82 : 1522 : III. iv. 133 ; *c.* VIII.

After the Ghost's *exit*, the dialogue continues through 21 more lines in Q<sub>1</sub>; in Q<sub>2</sub> through 82.

xi. 90-5 : ll. 1530-35 offer a fine specimen of X's work; *c. I.* (See III. iv. 137.)

In xi. 90-1 : lines 1530-31, the Queen tells Hamlet that he is mad, yet in xi. 92-3 : ll. 1532-33, she thinks it necessary to protest her innocence of 'this most horrid murder,' and in xi. 94-5 : ll. 1534-35, she returns to the subject of xi. 90-1 : ll. 1530-31. The lines xi. 91-5 : 1531-35, are an addition of X's own making, for Hamlet, as in Q<sub>2</sub>, takes notice only of xi. 90 : l. 1530. A similar instance we observed in ii. 28-32 : ll. 168-172, and in the speech of Hamlet following it.

xi. 96—103 : 1536-43; xi. 98 : 1538 : *I. v. 23*; *c. IV.*

Before xi. 99 : l. 1539; *d. VI.* (Q<sub>2</sub> III. iii. 161—164)

xi. 102-3 : ll. 1542-43 are meant to make up for the omission (*d. I.*) of III. iv. 181—196. X only found in his notes that the Queen promised secrecy, and he extended that promise in his usual broad and awkward manner; *c. IX.* The last two lines of this speech are important because they certainly contributed to making X compose the independent scene, xiv. 1—36 : ll. 1747-82.

xi. 109-110 : 1549-50; *c. VII.*; Q<sub>1</sub>, *graue* (L. sepulcrum), mistaken for Q<sub>2</sub>, *graua* (L. gravis).

For a similar blunder see iv. 196 : l. 593 (No. 39).

#### Act IV. i.

Q<sub>1</sub> concurs with F<sub>1</sub> in not making the Queen enter with the King. The scene goes on in the same room where Polonius was killed; *d. VI.*

xi. 121 : 1560 : Q<sub>2</sub>, IV. i. 14, 15.

xi. 122 : 1561; *d. III.*: How does the King know that Polonius is no longer lying behind the arras? In Q<sub>2</sub> he had been told that Hamlet had gone 'to draw apart the body.'

After xi. 131 : l. 1570; *d. VI.*; Q<sub>2</sub>, IV. i. 40—44.

#### Act IV. ii.

is entirely wanting in Q<sub>1</sub>, except what is preserved in ix. 211—221. ll. 1382-92.

## Act IV. iii.

ll. 1—11 wanting in Q<sub>1</sub>. The scene, therefore continues in the same room, and X is obliged to insert xi. 165-6 : 1605, 1606.

xi. 135—143 : 1574-82 ; d. II.

xi. 148—151 : 1587-90 ; d. III. ('within a month').

xi. 155—165 : 1594—1604 : IV. iii. 39. ss. ; d. II.

xi. 171-4 : 1610-13 ; c. VII.

## Act IV. iv.

xiii. 1—6 : 1614-19 ; d. VI.

## Act IV. v.

xiii. 1—14 : 1620—1633. These lines are due to notes of IV.  
v. 1—20, 83—87, 94—104.

For l. 1627 see l. 672 ; c. II. ; d. I. ; c. VIII., VI., (III.).

xiii. 15—25 : 1634—1644 ; c. VIII. ; d. II.

xiii. 27—40 : 1646-59 ; c. VIII. ; d. II.

xiii. 41-5 : 1660-64; see ll. 664, 898 ; c. II. ; Q<sub>2</sub>, IV. v. 92 ; b.

xiii. 46—68 : 1665-87. That these lines depend on a more complete version of the scene is too obvious to require further proofs. Observe how inappropriately and awkwardly xiii. 69-1 : ll. 1679-80 are drawn to what precedes : c. VIII., d. II. and I.

xiii. 63-4 : 1682-83 ; IV. v. 142, 143 (bloud).

xiii. 68 : 1687 ; see vii. 3 : ll. 904 ; xiii. 117, 119 : 1736, 1738 ; c. IV.

xiii. 73—113 : 1692—1732 ; a., b., c., VIII. ; d. II. ; c. IX.  
(xiii. 89 : 1708 ; a., d. III.).

xiii. 114—127 : 1733—1746 ; c. V. and IV.

xiii. 117 : 1736 : see xiii. 68 : 1687.

xiii. 119 : 1738 : see x. 16 : 1426.

xiii. 127 : 1746 : IV. vii. 33—35 ; c. VIII.

Scene VI., wanting in Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub>.

xiv. 1—36 : 1747—82 : Furness (Reprint of Q<sub>1</sub>) does not give any marginal references to Q<sub>2</sub> for this scene.<sup>1</sup> It exhibits the usual

<sup>1</sup> See the parallel passage with references in my edition of Griggs's Facsimile of Q<sub>1</sub>.—F. J. F.

marks of X's hand: vulgarisms (*e. g.* xiv. 3, 33 : 1749, 1779 ; see Mommsen, *Rom. and Jul. Proleg.* 163, s.; for almost all of those vulgarisms and archaisms, instances might easily be adduced from Q<sub>1</sub>), contradictions (the Queen, who has made herself an accomplice in Hamlet's designs of revenge, and knows all about the "most horrid murder" of her first husband, xi. 93 : (1533), ought not to say what she says in xiv. 10 : l. 1756);<sup>1</sup> weakness of diction, xiii. 18—21 : 1764-67 : xiii. 16 : 1762 : "the east side of the citie."<sup>2</sup> X evidently thought of London and its "Tower" when he wrote this; xiii. 22-6 : ll. 1770-72 are superfluous and absurd, for the Queen is represented as fully aware of the King's treachery; xiii. 27—36 : ll. 1773-83 are due to V. ii. 38—56; similarly, ll. 1747-53 to Hamlet's letter to Horatio and to V. ii. 12—25.

xiv. 34 : l. 1780 : contains nonsense.

The sixth scene of the fourth act and parts of V. ii., therefore, furnished the materials for this scene in Q<sub>1</sub>, which was probably suggested to X by his finding the rubrics of the Queen and Horatio in his notes (see IV. v. 1—20 entirely wanting in Q<sub>1</sub>), which seem to have been too fragmentary to be worked out in their proper place. Thus we have here cases of *d.* II.; *c.* VIII.; *c.* IX.; *a.* *b.* and indirectly also of *d.* VI.; (inasmuch as the Queen and Horatio are brought together once, though in different scenes). It is moreover not unlikely that X should have been influenced by his having made the Queen an accessory in Hamlet's plans of revenge, as he had been influenced by the alterations in vi. 104—110 : ll. 802—808 (see No. 44).

#### IV. vii.

xv. i : 1183 : the first fifty lines of this scene are wanting in Q<sub>1</sub>; *d.* I.; *d.* II.

xv. 8 : 1790 : IV. v. 133; *b.* *c.* VIII.

xv. 11 : 1793; *d.* II.; compare Q<sub>2</sub>, IV. vii. 101—103.

xv. 15 : before 1797; *d.* VI.; see Q<sub>2</sub>, IV. vii. 115—124.

xv. 15—21 : 1797—1809; *c.* VIII.

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the fresh attempted murder of Hamlet the son, of which she knew nothing.—F. J. F.

<sup>2</sup> See "the Tragedians of the Citty," vii. 69 : 969.—F. J. F.

xv. 30-6 : 1812—1818 : Q<sub>2</sub>, IV. vii. 103 and 132, 152—162 ; d. II.

xv. 39—55 : 1821-37 : d. III. ; for the Queen, instead of telling the King and Laertes at once what has happened (IV. vii. 166), gives first the long description of the details, and only in the last line of her speech (xv. 50) do we learn that the clothes “Dragg'd the sweete wretch to death.”

xv. 55 : 1837 : IV. vii. 165, 166 ; c. VIII.

### Act V. i.

xvi. 1—31 : ll. 1838—1868 : d. I. II.; c. IX. It would not be hard to recognize that X's original must have been more complete in this scene than Q<sub>1</sub> is, even if X had not betrayed it himself. Observe the absurdity and contradiction in xvi. 19—31 : ll. 1856—1868. Instead of asking as the Clown does in Q<sub>2</sub> : “What is he that builds stronger than either the mason, the shipwright or the carpenter ?” to which V. 156 gives a logically right answer, he asks in Q<sub>1</sub> (l. 19, 20) : “who buildest strongest, Of a mason, a Shipwright or a Carpenter ?” Quite sensibly X makes the second Clown suggest first, a Mason, then a Carpenter, and he ought to have been right at last in guessing a ‘Shipwright ;’ but as in Q<sub>2</sub>, the final answer is ‘a Graue-maker,’—clearly a case of *a. b.*

xvi. 32-5 : 1869-72 : The nonsense contained in these verses arises from X's having misheard *fī* for *pīt* (of clay); d. IV.

The same nonsense returns, even worse, in xvi. 40-3 : ll. 1877-80; c. II.

xvi. 44—55 : 1881-92 : V. i. 93, ss.; d. II. and I.

xvi. 59 : 1896 : V. i. 81 ; c. VIII.

xvi. 62—66 : 1909—1913: *excellent and absolute* (V. i. 129), can easily be confounded at some distance : d. IV.

xvi. 85—88 : 1922-5 ; c. VIII. The same may be said of the whole scene. We easily see that xvi. 85 : l. 1922 ought to effect the transition to the talk of Yorick's skull. Compare Q<sub>2</sub>, V. i. 162, ss.

xvi. 89—100 : 1926-37 ; c. VIII.

xvi. 101—124 : 1938—61 : not quite bad, but d. I., II.

Observe xvi. 104 : 1941 : "This was *one* Yorickes scull."

And yet he asks : "Why do you not know him ?" Shakspere's intention of representing Yorick as a generally known character was thus in part disregarded by X.

xvi. 111—24 : 1955-61 ; d. II. ; c. VII. (Q<sub>2</sub>, V. i. 203-4 ; d. I.).

xvi. 128—165 : 1965—2002: Only V. i. (?) 212, 223—228, 231—234 are omitted (d. I.) without leaving a trace behind. V. i. 235—237 is traceable in xiii. 116 : l. 1735 ; xvi. 144 : l. 1981, ought to be given to Hamlet, and is worthy of remark, because it shows the verb *conjures* : V. i. 244.

xvi. 147—159 : 1984-96 ; d. II. ; c. VIII.

xvi. 160 : 1997. Compare V. i. 260, 272-76, and Q<sub>1</sub>, xi. 113 : l. 1552.

xvi. 162 : 1999 : "Therefore awhile," V. i. 273, completed by X.

xvii. 1 : 2003, s. : V. i. 272.

xvii. 3—7 : 2005-9 : V. i. 282-3 ; c. V.

xvii. 8—11 : 2010-13 : written under the influence of V. ii. 212, and Q<sub>1</sub>, xviii. 1—4 : ll. 2014—2017.

#### V. ii.

Parts of this scene had already been used in xiv. 1—36 : ll. 1747—1782.

xviii. 5—43 : 2018—56. The mere words *Bragart Gentleman* prove that the source of Q<sub>1</sub> must have been more complete than Q<sub>1</sub> itself ; for what does the 'Bragart Gentleman' say in Q<sub>1</sub> to deserve this epithet?<sup>1</sup> Does he not behave rather sensibly ? There is hardly any trace here (except in the term *Bragart G.* itself) of the provoking euphuism of Ostrick in Q<sub>2</sub>.

Before xviii. 15 : l. 2028 ; d. VI. (Q<sub>2</sub>, V. ii. 106—138).

xviii. 32-4 : ll. 2043-45 seem at first sight to remind us of the second Lord (V. ii. 185—196); but *ib.* ll. 166—170 not only mention the 'hall' (Q<sub>1</sub> : '*outward palace*'), but imply also that the duel is going to be fought presently. The "best judgement" is to be traced to V. ii. 266 (wanting in Q<sub>1</sub>, xviii. 61 : l. 2074). Thus Q<sub>1</sub> shows the same abbreviation as F<sub>1</sub> ; d. VI.

<sup>1</sup> Plenty. 'Bragart' was us'd of 'affected talk,' as in Armado's case in *L. L. Lost.*—F. J. F.

xviii. 29 : 2040 : see xvii. 6 ; l. 2008 ; c. IV.

xviii. 44—47 : 2057—2060 : V. ii. 248 ; c. VIII.

In xviii. 47 : l. 2060, “We doubt [= fear] it not,” we should expect: “We fear it not” (Q<sub>2</sub>, V. ii. 270 : “I do not feare it”).

xviii. 48—82 : 2061—2095 ; d. I., II., III. (xviii. 61-3 : 2074-76).

Henceforth Q<sub>1</sub> does not offer any more than slight excerpts from its source. Its occasional crudeness and obscurity are easily explained by means of Q<sub>2</sub>.

The rapid course and bustle of the last scene sufficiently account for the deficiency of its reproduction in Q<sub>1</sub>.

xviii. 80 : l. 2093 contains nonsense, owing to c. VIII. and d.

II. Compare xviii. 81 : l. 2094, and Q<sub>2</sub>, V. ii. 282—287.

xviii. 90 : 2103 ; d. V. (Q<sub>2</sub> wrongly : in my hand).

xviii. 96, 8 : 2109-2111 ; d. III. ; c. IX. Laertes talks as if he had only to forgive, and not to crave Hamlet’s pardon as well.

xviii. 129-30 : 2142-43 ; c. VII.

I now repeat the question put in p. 124 :

Does our supposition concerning the nature and origin of Q<sub>1</sub>, and its relation to Q<sub>2</sub>, sufficiently explain all the differences between Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub>?”) and I trust that those who have gone through the above list carefully and impartially will answer me: “Yes, it does.”

## § 2.

To the evidence of the first section of this Part we must add the arguments alleged by other critics, especially by Tycho Mommsen.

His opinion of the general negligence of surreptitious editions (*Rom. and Jul.* Proleg., p. 157) is perfectly correct, as far at least as the Q<sub>1</sub> of *Hamlet* is concerned. Here the reader is referred to an article of his in the *Athenæum*, Feb. 7th, 1857, p. 182,<sup>1</sup> where he states in a very plausible manner the several reasons for which he considers Q<sub>1</sub> of *Hamlet* and *Rom. and Jul.* to have been obtained and published surreptitiously. It will be seen that M.’s conclusion differs from mine in some details, but chiefly in what he says under No. 5. I

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in Furness’s *New Var. Hamlet*, ii. 25-6.

have not discovered anything in Q<sub>1</sub> requiring another explanation than that afforded by my supposition, viz., that X, an individual more speculative than clever, assisted by a friend, took down the notes in the theatre, and worked them out at home. He probably cheated "N. L[ing] and John Trundell," the publishers of Q<sub>1</sub>, as well as the public, by pretending that his was the true *Hamlet*, for the publishers are indeed not likely to have known what a wretched mutilation of the authentic text they possessed in X's *Hamlet*, and when, after Q<sub>1</sub> had been put forth, they became aware of their having been taken in, N. Ling (See Q<sub>2</sub>'s title-page) may have applied to Shakspere himself for the genuine MS., to make amends for his former blunder. Thus the singular circumstance that Ling had a hand in the publication of both the surreptitious and the authentic copies would be easily explained, whereas it would otherwise remain an obstacle not easy to be removed.

X himself, as well as his companion, was liable to mistakes of the ear, and to wrongly eking out the abbreviations which, no doubt, were found in abundance in their notes.

I have mentioned above (Introduction) the names of the most eminent critics supporting either Collier's or Knight's theory. I need not enter upon a refutation of Knight's arguments (given almost in full by Furness, *Var. Haml.* ii. 14—18) : his theory and those of his followers, together with all the ingenious illustrations of Shakspere's artistic development based upon them, fall to the ground of themselves, unless the arguments put forth in this Paper be disproved. I have only to add a few remarks on those details in which I cannot help differing from the opinions of some critics who, on the whole, advocate the same theory as I do.

Grant White's observations (see Furness, *Hamlet* ii. 26—30) are excellent on the whole, and he is evidently right in saying (p. 27) :

"To minds undisciplined in thought, abstract truth is difficult of apprehension and of recollection; whereas, a mere child can remember a story. And in addition to this very important consideration, there is yet a more important fact, that some of the most profoundly thoughtful passages in the Play—passages most indicative of maturity of intellect and wide observation of life—are found essentially complete, although grossly and almost ludicrously corrupted in the

first imperfect version of the tragedy." (See Mommsen, *Rom. and Jul.* Prol. p. 162.)

As regards the fourth scene of the fourth Act, however, I must oppose Grant White's opinion. I utterly fail to see that the introduction of Fortinbras and his army without the subsequent dialogue and soliloquy "is a moral impossibility, which overrides all other arguments." (See Furness, *Haml.* ii. 28.) Grant White himself calls our attention to the fact, that F<sub>1</sub> exhibits the same mutilation of this scene as Q<sub>1</sub>. The very circumstance that puzzles Grant White affords a noteworthy confirmation to my belief, that Shakspere himself had made the abbreviations in the stage *Hamlet*. Had another actor been commissioned to shorten the piece and adapt it to the requirements of the stage, he would have been sure to drop the whole of this scene. Shakspere knew better. He remembered that the Norwegian affair was, as it were, the background, or rather, the frame surrounding the whole action, and the link between the internal troubles of the Danish Court and the outer world. What would the critics have said if, after the "pass" through Denmark for the Polish enterprise had been so well introduced and explained in Acts I. and II., we did not hear anything about the future King of Denmark until, like a "deus ex machina," he appeared at the close of the piece? The beginning of IV. iv. is absolutely necessary for the artistic development of the action. Shakspere may have felt all the pangs of a disappointed author when he found himself obliged to suppress the grand soliloquy, but we must think him a sufficiently good critic to have recognized that, though the dialogue and the soliloquy were of the greatest consequence for the delineation of Hamlet's character, they were not nearly so closely connected with, and important for, the development of the general action as those "half dozen lines of commonplace" spoken by Fortinbras. The only argument that Grant White adduces in support of his view is founded on a superficial examination of the Q<sub>1</sub> text; xii. 3 : l. 1616.

"Tell him that *Fortenbrasse*, Nephew to old Norway," is said by White to be an unmistakable reminiscence of Q<sub>2</sub>, IV. iv. 14 :

"The Nephew to old Norway, Fortenbrasse."

Grant White seems to have overlooked that the Q<sub>1</sub>, II. i. 2 : ll. 141, 142 are quite sufficient to account for xii. 3 : l. 1616 :

“Lordes, we here haue writ to *Fortenbrasse*, nephew to olde Norway.”

Another difference results from Grant White's opinion that the strange names of Corambis and Montano, and the scene between the Queen and Horatio (Q<sub>1</sub>, xiv. 1—36 : ll. 1747-82), are remnants of a previous piece on the same subject (Furness, *Var. Haml.* ii. p. 30). I have sufficiently explained in the foregoing pages the view I take of this question, and only add here that xiv. 16, 17 : ll. 1762—63, “To meete him on the east side of the cittie to-morrow morning,” cannot be allowed to be so decisive evidence as Grant White seems to think them. I have already observed that X, living in London, is most likely to have thought of the London ‘east side,’ and I cannot discover anything in this interpolation necessitating the supposition of its being due to a previous piece.

From my comparison of Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub>, it appears that several lines in Q<sub>1</sub> were added by X quite independently (see, for instance, l. 2021 : “foh, how the muskecod smells!”); why not this ‘Cittie’ line too? Besides, we must ask whether we are entitled to infer from the general condition of X’s work that he took the trouble of seeking other sources than his notes and his memory; and how should lines be accounted for that bear a striking resemblance to certain Q<sub>2</sub> lines, although they stand in such supposed remnants of the old play? See, e. g., xiv. 10 : l. 1757, and Q<sub>2</sub>, III. i. 47—49; xiv. 19 : ll. 1765-66, and Q<sub>2</sub>, III. i. 121.

Clark and Wright, in the Preface to the Clarendon Press *Hamlet* (Furness, *Hamlet*. II. p. 31 ss.), reject the theory of Knight, and may be said to be followers of Collier, although, in one respect, their conjecture is quite original. Furness introduces it as “a solution of the mystery which will . . . commend itself the more thoroughly it is understood, and the more closely the play is studied.<sup>1</sup>” The whole

<sup>1</sup> I, on the other hand, have shown in § 3 of my *Forewords* to Griggs's Facsimile of Q<sub>2</sub>, that this Clark and Wright theory of Q<sub>1</sub> needs only the slightest study to ensure its scornful rejection. It leaves Shakspere the mere ‘painter and glazier’ of Hamlet and *Hamlet*, and not their creator, as all the main lines of Q<sub>2</sub> and the character of Hamlet are in Q<sub>1</sub>.—F. J. F.

of my foregoing investigations may be considered as an attempt at disproving what is new in their theory, but I cannot conclude this treatise without mentioning at least some of their statements.

Their theory is that "there was an old play on the story of Hamlet, some portions of which are still preserved in Q<sub>1</sub>; that about the year 1602 Sh. took this and began to render it for the stage, as he had done with other plays; that Q<sub>1</sub> represents the play after it had been retouched by him *to a certain extent*, but before his alterations were complete; and that in Q<sub>2</sub> we have for the first time the *Hamlet* of Sh." It is plain that the comparatively good condition of the first part of the Q<sub>1</sub> text has given rise to this theory, which, however, suffers from a serious defect; it does not explain how the materials for Q<sub>1</sub> were obtained by X—at least I cannot imagine that Clark and Wright seriously believed that *Hamlet*, in such a state of transition, a centaur-like monster, was ever acted on the stage;—and I find no other plausible explanation of the existence of Q<sub>1</sub> than X's having written down his notes *during the representation*, an explanation, moreover, which is approved of by Clark and Wright themselves (Furness, *Var. Haml.* ii. 31). Of course they call in the names of Corambis and Montano and the transposition of Hamlet's soliloquy and of his following dialogue with Ophelia to support their theory, but those considerations ought not to be used as arguments at all. Whoever sets on foot a new conjecture about our *Hamlet* question must somehow or other get clear of these difficulties before he can come to any opinion about the matter in dispute; hence such arguments would serve anybody's turn, and consequently serve nobody's.

Clark and Wright observe a little further on: "The madness of Hamlet is much more pronounced, and the Queen's innocence of her husband's murder much more explicitly stated, in the earlier than in the later Play." I have tried above to show that such differences in the delineation of characters are natural consequences of the mutilation which the authentic *Hamlet* had experienced in the notes of X. So coarse a treatment as *Hamlet* suffered when being handled by X could not but distort or efface those delicate features which distinguish several of the characters in the real *Hamlet*: and it seems quite astonishing that critics who, in general, acknowledge the fact of X's

having obtained his materials for *Q<sub>1</sub>* in haste and secrecy, his very poor poetical abilities, his carelessness and unscrupulousness, should shrink from owning the most natural and inevitable consequence of all those circumstances, namely, that the well-known external mutilation and corruption in quantity and diction necessarily involved internal mutilation and corruption in the delineation of some, if not of all, characters in *Q<sub>1</sub>*.

Such insufficiencies would render it rather hard to accede to Clark and Wright's opinion, even if their theory were less strained and artificial than it is. If we consider the abundant evidence gained in the foregoing pages, that the text of *Q<sub>2</sub>* combined with our supposition concerning the origin of *Q<sub>1</sub>*, and the inevitable differences consequent upon it, are quite sufficient for a thorough understanding and explanation of *Q<sub>1</sub>*, and that this supposition is not disproved by any of the arguments of other critics, it seems no longer doubtful that *Q<sub>2</sub>*, in its adaptation to the stage, was the only source of *Q<sub>1</sub>*.

If I were to state the conclusion at which I have thus arrived, it would be as follows :

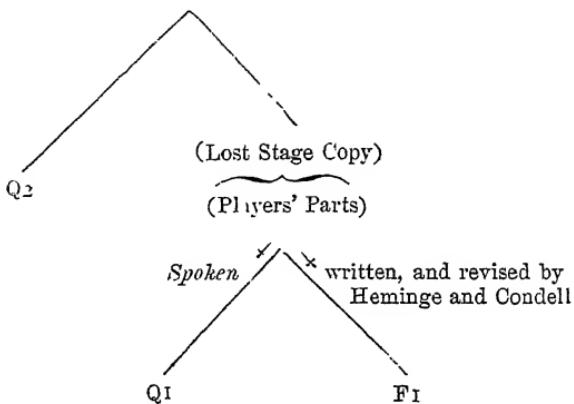
The *Second Quarto* was badly printed from the poet's own MS. A copy of Shakspere's MS. was made for the stage, and from this copy the actors obtained their parts. It must remain doubtful whether the abbreviations of the piece—which must be supposed to have been made by Shakspere himself before *Hamlet* was publicly acted—were also marked in the stage-copy, or only in the single parts of the actors.

The *Hamlet* of the *First Folio* was derived from the parts of the actors (only the description of Dumb-Show and a few stage-directions seem to have been furnished by a book containing the stage-directions without the full text), and contains not only their arbitrary interpolations, but also the blunders of copyists and compositors, and the marks of Heminge and Condell's criticism. I cannot acknowledge any passage in *F<sub>1</sub>* to be a later addition from the hand of Shakspere, as there are reasons to believe that such passages were simply left out by the *Q<sub>2</sub>* compositor.

The *First Quarto* is nothing but a mutilated, garbled, and inter-

pulated reproduction of the authentic *Hamlet*, such as a speculative individual had been able to elaborate from notes which had been taken down during the representation of the adapted Q<sub>2</sub> version for the purpose of putting forth a surreptitious edition of the successful tragedy.

(SHAKSPERE'S MS.)



DISCUSSION:—MR FURNIVALL. We all join gladly in the formal vote of thanks to Dr Tanger for the great pains and care that he has taken in compiling and writing the able Paper that ne has laid before us to-night, and which our Committee has shown its opinion of by printing it before the Meeting, so that its full details might be in Members' hands. We all join with him in rejecting the theory that Q<sub>1</sub> is not merely a revis'd old-*Hamlet*, for we at least hold Shakspere to be the creator, and not the mere adapter, of his *Hamlet*. We all, I hope, agree with Dr Tanger, in thinking that Q<sub>2</sub> is a truer *Hamlet* than F<sub>1</sub> is, and that F<sub>1</sub> does not contain any later revision by Shakspere. All these conclusions we have some time reaht; but we are most grateful for Dr Tanger's confirmation of them.

Our differences begin on the theories of our German friend, that Q<sub>2</sub> was printed from Shakspere's MS.; that F<sub>1</sub> was printed from the actors' parts; and that Q<sub>1</sub> is not a garbled First Sketch, but a garbled Q<sub>2</sub>. On none of these points can I agree with Dr Tanger. As to Q<sub>2</sub>: Setting aside the unlikeliness of Burbage's company parting with the original MS. of their best play to a printer as early as 1604, I think the omissions and mistakes in Q<sub>2</sub> are more than printers' doings<sup>1</sup>;

Printers didn't, in and about 1604, so far as I know their work—though copiers of at least earlier MSS. often did—leave out long passages like II. ii. 244—276, 352—379, V. ii. 68—81, or criticise and alter to the extent that Dr T. makes them. And I say this, while recollecting the accidentally left-out scene, and the reset sheet E, in the Quarto of the Second Part of King *Henry IV*.

its ‘copy’ must have been ‘maimd and deformd’ by a transcriber at least, and not given by ‘N. L.’ to ‘I. R.’ ‘perfect of its limbēs.’ As to its Stage-directions being Shaksperē’s, see my note on p. 111.

As to the possibility of *Fr* having been printed from the Players’ parts, the following letter from Mr A. W. Pinero of the Lyceum Theatre,—a well-known actor in several admirable plays of his own writing, &c.—shows that Players Parts are returnd to the prompter, so that, if a prompt-copy were lost, and the Parts kept—? not a likely occurrence—a text might be made up from the Parts :—

*London, October 12th, 1880,  
Lyceum Theatre, W.C.*

“MY DEAR SIR,

“It is the custom now-a-days—and it has been the custom as far back as the memory of any living actor extends—to extract the parts from a play, and to deliver them to the actors for study. After the production, or at the end of the run, the parts are returned to the prompter, marked with such alterations, cuts, or interpolations, as may have arisen during the rehearsals of the piece.

“The prompter’s and stage-manager’s copy (generally the same thing) differs as a rule from the author’s private MS., inasmuch as it is marked with the stage business and alterations which the exigencies of stage production have rendered necessary. When a piece is published after performance, the publication is always prepared from the stage-manager’s copy, never from the author’s MS.

“In cases of illicit publication—procured, for instance, from shorthand notes taken by a member of the audience—the result is often a publication differing both from the stage-manager’s copy and the author’s MS., since it frequently contains alterations, interpolations, or ‘gags,’ which have grown gradually, and have perhaps never found their way into the official prompt-book.

“My dear Sir,

“Very truly yours,

“ARTHUR W. PINERO.”

“F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq.”

But Dr Tanger’s supposed ‘Book of Stage-Directions without the full text’ is surely a monstrosity unheard of in theatres, and has been (as a friend suggests) projected from the writer’s consciousness (like the camel of old) to fit his theory.<sup>1</sup> Why do we want this Book, and the loss of the Prompt-copy, except for Dr T.’s theory? What ground is there for the theory? If we look at the few

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pinero says of it, under date October 15, 1880 :—“I have certainly never met nor heard of a Book of Stage Directions prepared apart from the Prompt Book : nor do I believe in the theory of the existence of such a thing.”

daggers (†) in the list of different readings, we see that the changes attributed to the Actors are a few repetitions of phrases that spoil the metre, and a few changes of words that Dr Tanger does not choose to attribute to Heminge and Condell or the compositors. Now even if these changes were due to the Actors, why may not the changes have been enter'd in the Prompt-copy, as being the words actually uz'd on the stage? Or if Actors A, B, D, made the changes, why may not actors H, C, (Heminge and Condell) have made them too, seeing that they may themselves have playd in two of the parts chang'd? Wherein must H. & C. have differ'd from their fellows A, B, D, that they couldn't have made the changes? Dr Tanger says that H. C. extended (and spoilt) the line "Which haue solicited, the rest is silence," by "O, o, o, o" (p. 144, l. 369); but when the line "Fie on 't, ah fie, tis an vnweeded garden" is extended (and spoilt) by putting "Oh fie, fie" for "ah fie," he says the Actors did it, or rather the actor who playd Hamlet [? R. Burbage]. Again, when the Q<sub>2</sub> "o God, God" of I. ii. 132 is chang'd into "O God, O God" in F<sub>1</sub>, Dr Tanger says this is the Hamlet-Actor's change? Surely this repetition of the O may just as well have been H. C.'s. Once more as to changes of words: that of "compulsatory," I. i. 103, to "compulsative," is declar'd to be H. C.'s, while that of "Eastward" I. i. 167, to "Easterne" is set down to the actor who playd Horatio. According to Dr T. the Actor who playd Hamlet [? R. Burbage] made 19 changes of text; the Actors of the Ghost, Laertes and Ophelia, 3 each; of Horatio, the Queen and Polonius, 2 each; of Marcellus, Claudius and the 1st Gravedigger, 1 each. Osric and the Players, the parts we should have expected to be most gag'd (except the Gravediggers) have no changes assign'd to them. On the whole I would rather suppose F<sub>1</sub> printed from the Prompt-book alter'd by H. C.—or an imperfect copy of it—than from the Actors' parts supplemented by Dr Tanger's invention, the 'Book of Stage-Directions without the full text.' As to Q<sub>1</sub>: the way in which Dr Tanger jumps the fences in the way of his theory excites my wonder. But it's steeple-chasing, rather than steady going in the path of criticism. If *Corambis* and *Montano* are but mishearings of *Polonius* and *Reynaldo*, if the Shaksperean 'cinkapase of ieasts,' 'warne Clowne,' 'foh, how the muske cod smels,' &c., are due only to the X who has given us the inanities of Q<sub>1</sub>, then anything may be anything else, at the critic's will. The scrappy and mistakeful state of the text of Q<sub>1</sub> shows that it cannot have had an editor in the proper sense of the term; and yet we are askt—not for the 1st or the 50th time, I admit—to put down to X all those changes of character, name, scene, &c., that some of us believe to have been due to Shakspere's First Sketch. Still, this question is one of probability. That theory will be finally adopted which in the common sense of most real workers reconciles most difficulties. I have in my Forewords to the Q<sub>1</sub> and Q<sub>2</sub> Facsimiles given the reasons

that induced me, from such study as I had been able to give them, to believe in a First Sketch ; and after going carefully through Dr Tanger's quotations, references, and arguments, I believe in a First Sketch still, as does Doctor Nicholson. But no authority should be accepted on the point : every man must work at the two Quartos and Folio for himself, and get an opinion of his own on the point. In his work, he will find Dr Tanger's array of the evidence of great use to him. I again thank Dr Tanger for the very valuable Paper he has given us.<sup>1</sup>

DR B. NICHOLSON was also grateful to Dr Tanger for his collection of differences between the *Hamlet* Quartos and *Fr* ; they would be of the greatest use in confuting some of Dr T.'s theories. Dr T. seemed to have almost at the first made up his mind, and thenceforward fitted his facts to his theory. His *Corumbis-Poloninus*, *Montano-Reynaldo* transformations are like pieces out of *Punch*, and worse than Fluellen's likeness of *Monmouth* to *Mucedon*, for there each name did begin with an *M*. X was endowed with imagination at one time, and made a goose at another, as the theory required. On the *Q1* speech "let not your Clown" his opinion had already been expressed in the reprint of that Quarto. Also, if *Q2* was printed from Shakspere's MS., why was Ostricke, who was named four times in it, only called a "Courtier" at first? Could it be supposed that Shakspere didn't give him a name when he introduced him, but, after making him speak nineteen times under that appellation in V. ii, suddenly bethought him of fitting him with a name after his departure! The change of *union*, pearl, to *vnice* and *onyxe* was much more probably an actor's or copier's change than a compositor's. As to the Stage-Directions : was it likely that Shakspere, who was said to have put in an unimportant 'flourish of trumpets,' &c., which *Fr* left out, would have left out a vital 'In scuffling they change Rapiers' which *Fr* put in? He could not accept Dr Tanger's theories as to *Q1*, nor as to *Q2* being direct from Shakspere's MS.

MR C. H. HERFORD thought that *Q1* clearly contained lines that were beyond X, and that necessitated another original than *Q2*.

<sup>1</sup> To make the references more usable by English folk, I have set before Dr T.'s references to Furness's print of *Q1*, (which is line-numbered throughout,) other references to my Nos. in Griggs's Facsimile of *Q1*. And before Dr T.'s quotations from *Q2*, I have put their line-Nos. from the Facsimile of it. Dr T. had finisht his paper (he says) in the spring of 1879, before seeing my Forewords to *Q1* (out on 14 March, 1879) or *Q2* (out, July 1880).

*painted cloth*: 1 Hen. IV. IV. ii. 28. “*Tapis*: m. Tapistrie, hangings, &c., of Arras. *Sourd comme vn tapis*. As deafe as an Image in a painted cloth.” 1611. Cotgrave.

*clammer*, v. t. silence: *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 250. Compare Harsnet's *Popish Impostures*, 1603, p. 34—“All must be mum; *Clum* quoth the Carpenter, *Clum* quoth the Carpenters wife, and *Clum* quoth the Friar.” These words are [Chaucer's, *clum* meaning ‘silence, hush! ’] ‘Now, *Pater noster*, clum,’ quod Nicholay, and ‘clum’ quod Jon, and ‘clum’ quod Alisoun. Jon being the Carpenter, Alisoun the Carpenter's wife, and Nicholay, the gay and gentle Oxford clerk, degraded by Harsnet into a friar. The form *clom* occurs in the *Ayenbite of Invyt*, 1340 A.D., and must have passt into a later *clam*.—F.]—B. N.

*to mōs and mow*. Tempest, “*to mōs*, *mow*.” Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, p. 38.—B. N.

*Mops and Mows*. “Because wee doe not tumble, wallow, foame, howle, scrieke, and make mouthes, and mops as the popish possessed vse to do.” p. 30. “Loe here the Captaine of this holy schoole of Legerdemaine tells you \* \* \* what was the perfection of a scholler of the highest form, to wit, to *frame* themselues iumpe and fit vnto the Priests humors, to *mop*, *mow*, iest, raile, raue, roar, commend and discommend, and as the priests would haue them.”—Harsnet's *Popish Impostures*, p. 38, 1603.—B. N.

*Limb*, sb. “Antony a limb of Cæsar,” *J. Cæsar*, &c. &c. “*Weston* as a limb of the same body.” Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, Preface.

*Pluck*, v. t pull by force. “What, pluck a dainty doe to ground.” *T. Andron*. This and the frequent use of “pluck” are illustrated by this phrase in Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, p. 65, [the devil] “purposing to try a *pluck*<sup>1</sup> with the priest.” It also suggests that in the phrase “pluck a crow with” there is no allusion to plucking its (limbs or) feathers.—B. N.

*Bucklers*, sb. pl. “I give the *bucklers*.” *Much Ado*, V. ii. 17. Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, p. 146, speaking of the supposed effects of the exorcisms, says—“Here Church *Anthemes*, as you see, carried away the *bucklers*” [won the victory]. The origin of the phrase still requires explanation.<sup>2</sup> (See Nares, and the *Variorum*, vii. 159.)—B. N.

“*myself and skirted page*.” *Merry Wives*, I. iii. 93—“he was else of the new Court cut, affecting no other traine then two crasie fellowes, and an urchin butter-flie boy.” Harsnet, *Pop. Impost.* 1603, p. 48.—B. N.

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Pluk* or *plukkyng*. *Tractus*.’ *Promptorium Parvulorum*, ab. 1440. ‘I'll try a *pull* with you’ is still used in Wrestling.—F.

<sup>2</sup> The cognate phrase ‘to carry away, lurch, &c., the garland’ is of course derived from the Olympian games.

*quiddity*, sb.: *Hamlet*, V. i. 107. “*Quolibet*: m. A quirke or quidditie; also, a ieast or by-word.” 1611. Cotgrave.

“*Whose mother was her painting* :” *Cymb.* III. iv. 52. “If Madame Newport should not be link’t with these *Ladlyes*, the chain wold never hold ; for shee is sister to the famous Mistres Porter . . . . and to the more famous Lady *Marlborough* (whose Paint is her *Pander*”). *Newes from the New-Exchange, or the Common-wealth of Ladies*. Printed in the yeere of Women without Grace, 1650, p. 9.

Compare : “Finally, hee would thou his equalls, and those which knew him very well, with marvellous arrogancie ; and said that his Arme was his Father, his works his Linage.” Shelton’s Transl. of *Don Quixote*, 1652, f. 133.—R. Roberts.

*Caviare*, sb. “ ‘Twas caviare to the general.’ *Hamlet*, II. ii. 457. “This [a Porpose Pye] was one of your fine dishes. Another a great Lady sent him, which was a little Barrell of *Cauairy*, which was no sooner opened and tasted, but quickly made vp againe, [and] was sent backe with this message, Command me to my good Lady, and thanke her honour, and tell her we haue black sope enough already ; but if it be any better thing, I beseech her Ladyship to bestow it vpon a better friend, that can better tell how to vse it.” *The Court and Country* . . . . Written by N. B[retton], gent. 1618. *Chertsey Worthies*, Libr. reprint, p. 14.—B. N.

*Rorier*, sb. noisy scoundrel : *Tempest*, I. i. 18. “Bowling-allies, Dicing-houses, and Tobacco-shopes, be the Temples, which Hee, and his Fraternity of *Rorers*, haue erected to *Mercury* and *Fortune*: In the two first he doth acknowledge their Deity ; in the last hee offers smoking incense to them both ; in recompense of booty, gotten by Chance and cheating.” 1615. John Stephens. *Satyrical Essays*: Character xxi. *A Punder*, p. 320.

*bite my thumb*. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 49, &c. [In Paul’s Walks] “What swearing is there : yea, what swaggering, what facing and out-facing ? What shuffling, what shouldering, what Justling, what Jeering, what *byting of thumbs* to beget quarrels, what holding vppe of fingers to remember drunken meetings, what brauing with Feathers, what bearding with Mustachoes ?” 1608. T. Dekker. *The Dead Terme*. sign. D 4.

*A month’s mind*, sb. longing : *Two Gentlemen*, I. ii. 137. “One, Seignior Lodovico, that has a *moneth’s mind* to your pretty Daughter.” 1670. Ric. Rhodes. *Floras Vagaries*, p. 61.

*birdling*, sb. : *My. Wives*, III. iii. 247. “*Aurupium*, Cicer. *Birdyng* or fowlyng. Aucupor, to goe a *birdyng*, fowling, or hawkyng.” 1584. Cooper. Latin Dict.

*foining* : 2 *Henry IV*. II. iv. 252. “*Punctio*, Plin. A *foyninge*, prickynge, or stinginge.” 1584. Cooper.

X. ON FOUR PASSAGES IN *HENRY V.*

BY BRINSLEY NICHOLSON, M.D.

*(Read at the 64th Meeting of the Society, Nov. 12, 1880.)*

## 1. GUARD : ON (IV. ii. 60).

THE Constable, himself impatient, and urged by those around him, cries, according to the folio text—

“I stay but for my Guard : on to the field,<sup>1</sup>  
I will the Banner from a Trumpet take,  
And use it for my haste.”

But Dr Thackeray and an anonymous critic have both changed “guard : on” to “guidon,” thus—

“I stay but for my Guidon : to the field,”

and this change has been received with as much applause as, and more lasting favour than, Collier’s celebrated—“Who smothers her with painting.” There are, however, three objections to this change, each more decisive than the one preceding.

1. First, it is unnecessary. It seems to have been thought that because the Constable in his third clause speaks of the want of his banner, therefore he must of necessity speak of it in his first. There can be no such necessity. If Scott made a knight speak of his want of a sword, and afterwards of the want of his shield, we should be bound to accept this portraiture, unless it were inconsistent with what had gone before or follows. But our correctors, without showing such an inconsistency, would have us delete the first word

<sup>1</sup> In the Folio the lines are wrongly divided, “on” ending the first line, while “To the field” begins the next one.

"sword," or the second one, "shield," it matters not which, and substitute the other. Or, to take another instance, one must not mention the sun and moon, according to their canons of criticism, in the same sentence! Such instances show the ridiculousness of the change, even by their mere statement. But in Shakspere everything ridiculous is to be allowed, provided it give some one the opportunity of dragging out, or rather in, a new reading.

Here the want of his guard, and his hurrying without them to the battle, is a proof of his over-haste and confidence. The want of his banner is another proof of the same. Besides, the two wants are not only not inconsistent, but the second is so dependent on the first, as almost to require the mention of both. The Constable's banner was borne before him by his guard; their absence, therefore, involved the want of his banner.

2. Secondly, the text simply repeats in substance the words of Shakspere's authority—Holinshead. He says, "They thought themselves so sure of victorie, that diverse of the noblemen made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their servants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standards; as amongst other the duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner [being square like his own] to be taken from a trumpet, and fastened to a speare, the which he commanded to be borne before him." Shakspere preserved both incidents, but attributed them to the commander-in-chief, on the principle of—Like Master, like man. The Constable thus hasty, rash, and over-confident, we at once conceive how his subordinates behaved, and in what disorder they rushed pell-mell on the embattled English few.

3. The use of "Guidon" and "Banner" as synonyms is an impossibility in Elizabethan, or indeed in any English. Such a use would in any Englishman be at the very least a gross blunder, and one at variance also with the most ordinary and known rules of heraldry. Thirdly, the giving of a Guidon to a Montmorency, Lord High Constable of France, the Deputy of the king, and therefore in the king's absence the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of France, under whom the Dauphin served, as well as the Feudal Sovereigns, the dukes of

Burgundy and Brabant, is an equal violation of heraldic rules. A Guidon, in shape long, narrow, pointed, and double-peaked, was the lowest of all armorial ensigns; the banner is square, and, except the standard, the highest in rank.—See Grose, *Mil. Ant.*, vol. ii. p. 52, *et seqq.*

In Elizabethan days heraldic distinctions were the study of every man and woman of gentle blood, and known to all who had the slightest pretensions to culture, or who had but a smattering of warlike exercises, or had even seen a tilting match. Such a blundering lapse therefore would, in any dramatist, have been most improbable. In Shakspere, who, besides a cultivated intelligence and a minute knowledge of the meanings of words, had special personal reasons for being cognizant of heraldic distinctions, it was impossible. Or had he made such a blunder, or called Mars, the god of heaven and earth, or the Triune Jehovah, the one phrase like the other would have been the signal for loud and derisive laughter, if not for cat-calls and hisses. It may be remembered that he was tried to be ridiculed at another theatre by Ben Jonson, Marston, and Chapman, for allowing Ophelia, even at her maddest, to call for "her coach."

Aware of the absurdities of the emendation, I waited for a passage that would illustrate and prove this particular absurdity, and my friend, Mr W. G. Stone, crying peccavi, has given me one from Grose's *Mil. Ant.*, vol. i. p. 268. Aided by his note I found Grose's authority almost verbatim in G. M.'s (not, I believe, Gervase Markham's, as sometimes stated) *Soldier's Accidence*, 1623, pp. 46-7:—

" And here it is to be noted that the difference betwixt the Cornet and Guydon is much; for the Guydon is the first Colour that any Commander of horse can let fly in the field; This Guydon is of damaske frindged, and may be charged either with the crest of him that is the owner therof, or with other devise at his pleasure; It is in proportion three foote at the least deepe in the toppe next the staffe, and so extendeth down narrower and narrower to the bottome where the ende is sharpe, but with a slit divided into two peaks a foote deepe, the whole Guydon is sixe foote long, and should be carried upon a Launce staffe. If the Captaine (owner of the Guydon) shall do a good dayes service, or produce from his vertue somthing worthy advancement, so that he is called to a better command, as to lead Hargobussiers or Cuirassiers, then the Generall or officer in chiefe, shall with a

knife cut away the two peaks, and then it is made a Cornet which is longer one way than another; If (after that) he do anything worthily, whereby he is made by the king or Supreame, either *Bannaret* or *Baron*, then shall his Cornet be made Iust square in forme of a Banner, which none may carrie in the field on horsbacke under those degrees ; ”

Merely calling attention *en passant* to the difference of rank required in the bestowal of the Cornet and Banner respectively, I need say no more than sum up by returning to my first statement, thus :—The change is wholly unnecessary ; it does not agree with the historical authority followed by Shakspere ; and thirdly, the use of Guidon and Banner as synonyms is in defiance of English and Heraldry, and the bearing of a Guidon by the Lord High Constable of France, commanding in the field, an impossibility.

## 2. CALMIE CUSTURE ME (IV. iv. 4).

These words in the Folio, Malone and Boswell altered into “callino custure me,” they having found that an Elizabethan tune was so called, its refrain consisting of these words. All editors since—Staunton and the Cambridge editors, (the latter both in their Cambridge and Globe editions) excluded—have, I believe, followed their lead. I now recur to the subject partly because these two sets of editors—editors whose opinions are of weight—have rejected the emendation, but chiefly because the reasons why Pistol at this juncture contemptuously recurs to the song have not, I think, been sufficiently understood.

The at present given explanation is this : Though Pistol had picked up “coup le gorge” even in England, and while in France had learned the meaning of “oui,” and probably also of “non,” yet the Frenchman’s words were to him an unintelligible jargon of sounds, their tone alone conveying a plaintive meaning. The sound, therefore, that he had last heard—“Qualité”—was one that suggested to him the refrain commencing, “Callino,” for both commence with the same sounding syllable, “Cal,” and both are words of three syllables. So far the ordinary argument. Admitting, however, that, had Shakspere trusted to this association of sounds merely, Pistol’s words would have been brought in too unnaturally, and by a *tour de force*

quite unworthy of him, I would adduce other reasons, that is, other associations. Thus a second one was, that in Pistol's true time, i. e. in 1599, the date of the production of the play, this tune "Callino" was a new, and in all probability—I think, indeed, I may say certainly—a popular, air. It was new, because it was entered in the *Stationer's Registers* on the 10th March, 1581—2. "J. Aldee. Tollerated to him twoe ballades whereof thone intituled Callin o custure me and thother," &c. That it was popular is shown, First, by its having been used as a dance tune in the so-called Queen Elizabeth's Virginal book; Secondly, by the adaptation of fresh words to it, as in A Handfull of Plesant Delites, 1584; Thirdly, by its use in a similar manner to Shakspere's by Dekker in his *Satiromastix*, where Horace-Johnson, stung by a nettle wreath clapped on him, cries, "O, oh," and Tucca, a relative, if not a lineal descendant of Pistol, answers, "Nay, your O, ohs, nor your Callinoes cannot serve your turn"; Fourthly, by its preservation by Playford in his *Musical Companion*, 1673, showing that the tune was sufficiently popular up to that year; Fifthly, by the illustration derived from it by Davies of Hereford, circa 1610, to be presently more particularly mentioned. Hence both words "Qualité" and "Callino" were new to Pistol, and Callino was ready to both his and Tucca's memories by being, it may be said, in everybody's mouth.

A third probable cause for this association of Qualité and Callino was, that the Frenchman's love of plaintiveness was very likely under the above circumstances to have suggested this plaintive air. The burden given in Q. Elizabeth's Virginal Book is not indeed plaintive, and is in Mr W. Chappell's opinion English. And here, without binding Mr Chappell's opinion to mine, I would acknowledge his great kindness and readiness of information on this and other matters. But a burden is not a tune, and the tune in Playford is most certainly plaintive. The same suggestive plaintiveness is seen in the quotation from the *Satiromastix*, one not improbably suggested to Dekker by Shakspere's allusion to it, for the *Satiromastix* was written in 1601, or possibly in 1600.

A fourth cause of suggestion was the unintelligibility to Pistol of the French words, an unintelligibility suggestive—the other associa-

tions assisting—of the unintelligible refrain, "Callino custure me."—Davies of Hereford, in his *Scourge of Folly*, 1610-11, epigram 73, has—

" But it was like the burden of the song  
Call'd Callino, come from a forraigne Land,  
Which English people do not understand."

Proof, I take it, that the non-understandableness was a subject of question and comment.

Thus we have not one but three, and in all probability four, reasons why Pistol and his audiences would at once associate "Callino" with "Qualité"—the sameness of the first sound "Cal"—the novelty and popularity of the song, the plaintiveness given to both sets of words, and their unintelligibility. Another striking instance of Shakspere's attention to both art and nature.

Hence I am led to notice the preceding word used by Pistol. Its form in the first folio, "Qualtitie," and its repetition without change in the second and third folios, rather suggest that this stood for, and was taken to stand for, some uncommon or unknown word rather than for the well-known Quality, though all editors, from the fourth folio onwards, have so written it. Besides, as Pistol knew no French, and as the Frenchman's "Qualité," coming at the close of two lines of unintelligibility, only suggested to him the equally unintelligible "Callino," there was no possible reason for his using the word "Quality." Had he so shown that he understood the Frenchman's "Qualité," the chief reasons for his contemptuously repeating or humming "Callino custure me" are destroyed. Pistol, who can only understand "moi" as the measure "moy," and "bras" as "brass" can merely have repeated the last syllables of the to him jumble of sounds, not according to their spelling, but according to their sounds. He must therefore have repeated some such representative word as Caletay or Kaledey, and Mr W. G. Stone now agrees with me that the word should be so represented.

No musician, and not an Erse scholar, I must, except to say that "Callin" seems to be our "Colleen," leave the still vexed question of what Irish words "Callino custure me" represent, sub judice.

## 3. DOLL OR NELL (V. i. 74).

According to the old texts (Qq and Ff) Pistol says of Nell Quickly,  
 " Newes have I that my *Doll* is dead i' the Spittle."

I had read the Cambridge edition note, yet so carelessly that long afterwards I had lazily believed with the general run of editors, either that Shakspere had here made a slip of memory in calling Nell, Doll, or that the copyist had accidentally written one for the other. But on reading the play with a would-be editorial care, I, without entering into the question of the priority of either the Q. or F. versions, saw, as had the Cambridge editors, that we had the same apparent mistake in two distinct versions of the play. Moreover, each succeeding Q. or F. had printed Doll without alteration or amendment. Thus, on the supposition that Shakspere made the slip, we have to admit that he did this in one particular passage on two different occasions, though on the same occasions, in two other passages, he had called her Nell (II. i. ll. 17, 19), and also named Doll Tearsheet in l. 73. We have also to admit that he had invented, written, and also repeatedly heard the names Nell and Doll both in one version of this play, and in the other previous plays in which they appear. Take a similar case: can anyone suppose him on two different occasions in one and the same passage, and in no other, calling Doll Tearsheet "Nell"? Nor is this all: we have also to suppose that neither the players nor any of his audiences, nor his readers, were acute enough to discover and tell him of his blunder. Take a second example: suppose Scott, having had to re-write his MS. of Rob Roy, and first, having written in one particular passage in both copies Johnnie Campbell instead of Rob Roy Mc Grigor; and secondly, neither he nor his printers nor his readers discovering his error through the various editions through which the book ran, and we then have an idea of the probability of this Shaksperian supposition. I need say nothing of two different copyists making the same blnnder at the same spot, and nowhere else.

Hence I am obliged to conclude that Shakspere purposely made Pistol call Nell Quickly his Doll in this place; nor can any counter-arguments convince me against the facts, not even were a spiritualist to raise Shakspere from the spirit world. But, accepting the fact,

can we explain the apparent difficulty raised by this apparent mis-naming? I think we can, though here I am ready to throw up my own views if sufficiently cogent reasons can be found against them, or better and more probable ones suggested. There were then, I think, one of two, if not two, reasons, the one obvious and Pistolian, the other a Shaksperian and more subtle reason for giving Nell this nick-name.

First, as to the Pistolian reason. Every one, I suppose, must have heard or known that Doll or Dolly is even now a nick-name of endearment given to one (especially to a young child), whether her baptismal name be Mary, or Ann, or Mary Ann, or Mary Jane, &c. If Pistol had adopted this habit, it can easily be conceived that he, who had parted with his hostess before the honeymoon was out, would, through force of habit, have unconsciously used it when speaking of her. Not that I seriously suggest that it was with him a term of true love endearment. The fellow had no love except for himself: he married not for love, but for lucre and self-profit, for, as he himself says, a rendezvous for himself, now cut off. But this self-interest made his use of this endearing term of affection the more constant during his courtship and honeymoon, when bent on obtaining from her all the material good that he—now a waif and stray since Falstaff's death—could obtain. The buxom old fool, as she with all wickedness is depicted by Shakspere, was just the one to be complacently tickled by the frequent use of "dear Doll," "my darling Dolly," or, if occasion required, "my darling, ducksy Doll," and the like. I say, of course, nothing of her material view of the marriage transaction, for though she probably thought she wanted a bully and his companions for her dozen or fourteen gentlewomen, such considerations are at present out of our subject.

The above explanation, however, leaves unexplained why Shakspere should have decided on making Pistol use this particular nick-name in this particular place. I therefore pass on to my second, or Shaksperian cause. All are aware of his love for puns and *double entendres*. But another of his peculiarities, allied to his love for these, and one, I thiuk, of his excellencies, is not so often alluded to, though patent to all careful readers. This is his frequent choice of

a word which, while exactly expressing his primary meaning, suggests to the hearer, by its sound or by a secondary meaning, a second phrase opening out another vista of thought. Now Dolly is still used in Northumberland, and Doll, as I am obligingly informed by Mr Hetherington, in Liverpool, and both probably in the neighbouring counties, for their Doll Tearsheets, and that Shakspere was aware of this use of the word is shown, I think, by his choice of it for Tearsheet's Christian name. But not only was Dame Quickly, as appears by the cause and place of her death,—for "the Spittle" was not a hospital like St. Thomas' or Guy's, but the ordinary name for Bridewell hospital, the house of detention, and corporal and other corrections for the Doll Tearsheets of the day;—not only was she a Doll, but, as Shakspere would here show us, Pistol had married her perfectly aware of her character, or rather no character, just as he was aware of her lodging and boarding some dozen or fourteen gentle-women, who lived—as honestly as herself. He speaks of the news of her death, its mode and place, in the most matter-of-fact way, without a word of regret or surprise. Now, as Shakspere gradually develops Pistol before us, so he increases his opportunities of exposing and making him unblushingly expose his utter baseness, notably here, when, like Fluellen, he finally kicks him off the stage. By this one word, and the general tone of the passage, he would reveal to us that Pistol has been of like baseness throughout, and that he married his dame open-eyed, knowing thoroughly what she was, and what he would tamely be—the receiver of her gains. If the student reader will turn to the parallel editions, he will find in the Quarto (II. iii. 46) a sentence in the farewell scene between Pistol and Quickly which no editor has introduced into his revised edition, and whose omission by Shakspere in his Folio version confirms this view, for such a wish was inconsistent with the utter vileness of the creature.

I come, therefore, to the conclusion that Doll should be retained in the text, first, because of the fact that its continued recurrence in the Quarto and Folio versions is proof that the author wittingly placed it there; secondly, because, as I think, I have shown that we can give one if not two, to say the least, very probable reasons which induced him to place the word in Pistol's mouth.

4. A' PARTED E'EN IUST BETWEEN TWELVE AND ONE, E'EN AT  
THE TURNING O' TH TYDE (II. iii. 12, 13).*Staunton's Explanation Examined.*

The previous explanation of this passage was founded on the popular belief that death, other than a violent one, occurs much more commonly during the ebbing than during the flowing tide. I have, I believe, heard this myself during my boyhood, and it is to be remarked at the very outset that Staunton, in offering his new view in the *Athenaeum* of the 9th Nov., 1873, does not attempt to disprove the fact that this was a popular belief, known to the Dame Quickly class, but, on the contrary, admits it unreservedly. It is, therefore, plain to anyone of ordinary reasoning powers that, even if he proves the possibility of another explanation, he does not necessarily prove that Shakspere made use of it, and not of his tidal one; and that if he does not prove his a more likely cause for her form of speech, the old one is not moved from its rock foundation. But, so far from his offering a more likely explanation, it may be said that, while he confidently asserts his theory, there is not one word that can be called proof, while there are several that render it unlikely. That I may not overlook any of his so-called arguments I take his statements seriatim in his own order.

He commences by an objection to Dame Quickly making use of the tidal theory, saying,—“No one has pointed out the extreme improbability of the hostess knowing that the death of poor Sir John and the turn of the river tide were exactly coincident.” Staunton shows his animus by substituting for “even at” the word “exactly,” for “even at” is here equal to “just about.” Secondly, I answer that though Staunton would not be likely, especially in our day, to know the times of tide, yet that, of all the land-living characters in Shakspere, none was more likely even at ordinary times to have known these tidal turns than Dame Quickly, the vintner at Eastcheap. She lived before omnibuses, cabs, hackney coaches, trams, and rails, and the almost universal fashionable or business way of getting from one part of London to another, or to any place in its neighbourhood, was by horse or wherry. Hence there was nothing she would be more

likely to have at her fingers' ends than whether the tide served for a trip up or down. Besides, even if this were not so, she was just the character of woman, a fussy, talkative busy-body, who, believing in this superstition, and hourly expecting Falstaff's death, would have enquired as to the time of ebb, even if she did not happen to know it.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, Staunton continues, "No one, too, has asked . . . why the coincidence should be a source of consolation?" The reply to this is—No one has asked, because no one, Mr Staunton excepted, has ever suspected that she was then seeking a source of consolation. Let any one read the passage, and say whether she had not plainly left the "Arthur's bosom" question, and gone on to a wholly different subject. Staunton has blundered, apparently quite unaware of the habits and manners of the Dame Quicklies, and indeed of those of the majority of the lower classes at a certain age. They narrate a tale with all its accessory circumstances, as though they were essentials. Had she given Sir John a posset or caudle, she would have added, "and by the same token, it was in my best chany bowl, the red one with white stars, that he always loved; but, poor soul, it was no use." I stared, re-read it, and then laughed outright when I came upon this astounding objection.

He then proceeds—"the tide she meant was the *tide of time*. From a fanciful analogy between the alternations of light and darkness, and the tidal ebb and flow, it was customary in Shakspere's age to speak of the day (*i. e.* the twenty-four hours) as divided into two tides of twelve hours each, one beginning at midday, the other at midnight." Now, first, I would observe that I think it would have been a very "fanciful" and unlikely analogy on the part of our practical and nature-viewing ancestors to compute the double change between the twelve hours of darkness and the twelve hours of light, by taking as the type and basis of that computation the ebb and flow of the sea, which occurs four times in the twenty-four hours, or just twice as often. Secondly, though the solar and mariner's day commences at noon, and our civil day at midnight, it is surely more than

<sup>1</sup> I would here call special attention to the illustrative anecdote given by Mr Hetherington (p. 218) as affording strong corroboration of my argument.

extraordinary that persons taking the alternations of light and darkness as the intent and basis of their reckoning should fix upon the first second past noon as the beginning of their night-tide, and the first second past midnight as the commencement of their day-tide. They must have had more than cat's eyes. Thirdly, that this computing of the commencement of the day from immediately after the stroke of midnight, &c., must have been completely contrary to their previous conceptions of the subject, as evidenced by the very terms midnight and midday, then common in their mouths—terms curiously enough employed by Mr Staunton himself when engaged in setting forth this new theory.

But, setting these three objections aside—if numbers two and three can be set aside—there remains this fourth, and, as I believe, decidedly fatal one. Mr Staunton confidently asserts his proposition, but does not give one single proof. Nor do I believe that it was evolved elsewhere than from his inner consciousness. At least I have never met in the course of my reading with a single passage in proof, nor, so far as I can learn among literary friends, have they. Hence I can but apply the old monkish rule, “*De non apparentibus, et de non existentibus, eadom est ratio.*” To things which do not appear, may be applied the same rule as to those that do not exist.

He then goes on to say, that he is at a loss to determine whether noon-tide derives its origin from this [his] peculiar mode of computation; and having answered his doubt in the negative by quoting Christmas-tide, Shrove-tide, &c., and not noting that noon was no tide in his sense, but the lull between two tides, he, notwithstanding, continues, “To me it seems highly probable that by noon-tide was understood the time of tide from noon to midnight, and by night-tide the flow of time from midnight to midday.” I need not return to the argument against the supposition, that night-tide commenced, in the opinion of our ancestors, immediately after twelve, noon; but I challenge anyone to prove, or produce an example showing that noon-tide ever meant the time from noon to midnight, or was, as Staunton would insinuate, the opposite of night-tide, or ever meant anything else than, in a slightly vague way, the time about midday. Similarly I affirm that night-tide was never used to express the twelve hours between

midnight and noon. Staunton seems entirely to have lost sight of the cognate terms, morrow-tide, even-tide, morning-tide, &c., and also the Saxon sense of the original Saxon word "tid." Never indeed have I seen a case of more surprising ignorance and impudence caused by an over-zeal for a novel theory.

Mr Staunton then goes on to say that, "what more particularly bears upon the subject of Mrs Pistol's speech is the fact of a belief once prevalent, that of all hours in the two tides the most propitious time was the period of lull between the ebb of night and the flow of day. To this I merely reply, first, as before, where is the proof that our ancestors, who used even-tide and night-tide, ever called the time between 12 p. m. and 1 p. m. the flow of day? Secondly, where is the proof that such time was considered most propitious for death? The rule "de non apparentibus" applies again.

While, however, as I said, Staunton has not attempted to give, nor have I been able to find, any proof or example of his first statement—that it was "customary among the people" to speak of the twenty-four hours as divided into two tides, the night-tide commencing immediately after midday, and the day-tide commencing immediately after midnight;—and though, as I have endeavoured to show, all argument from custom and analogy is against such a theory, he at the close attempts to give three examples from the *poets* of the time. His first example is from Donne, who, addressing the dead Lord Harrington, says—

"Thou seest me here at midnight: now all rest  
Time's dead low water; when all minds divest  
To-morrow's busyness."

Grosart, *Fuller Worthies*, Lib. Donne, vol. ii. p. 115.

A pretty and poetic thought, but not one that in itself proves any popular custom or mode of computation, any more than the words "Thou seest me" prove that Donne was a modern spiritualist, and had only to call on Lord Harrington to be heard and seen. It would have been as germane to the purpose to have quoted from Shakspere "the tide of business," or "a tide in the affairs of men." I need hardly add that there can be no intent of alluding to Mr Staunton's second belief, that the lull between the two tides was

the most propitious time of death, for Donne is not speaking of the time of Lord Harrington's death, but of himself sitting and meditating at midnight in his study

2. He next gives a quotation from John Norris of Bemerton:—

“ ‘Twas when the tide of the returning day  
Began to chase ill forms away,  
When pious dreams the sense employ,  
And all within is innocence and joy.”

Grosart, *Fuller Worthies Misc.*, vol. ii. p. 171.

Here Staunton imagines or assumes that the tide of the returning day is coincident, according to his theory, with midnight. Let us not assume, but enquire. Norris gives us no other hint of the time. But Shakspere,—an authority who never goes contrary to received beliefs,—what does he say? In *Hamlet* the ill form, the ghost, does not disappear, but appears, the clock then beating one, and

“ It was about to speak when the cock crew ;  
And then it started like a guilty thing  
Upon a fearefull summons.”

He goes on—

“ The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,  
Awakes the god of day ; and at his warning,  
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,  
Th' extravagant and erring spirit hies  
To his confine.”

So Puck, *Midsummer Night's Dream* (III ii.), tells Oberon—

“ My fairy Lord, this must be done with haste ;  
For night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast,  
And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger ;  
At whose approach, ghosts, wandering here and there,  
Troop home to church-yards : damned spirits all,  
That in cross-ways and floods have burial,  
Already to their wormy beds are gone ;  
For fear lest day should look their shames upon,  
They wilfully themselves exile from light,  
And must for aye consort with black-brow'd night.”

And this notoriously is a popular belief to this day. Hence there can be no doubt

“ That when the tide of the returning day  
Began,”

is merely a poetic phrase for the approach of morn, for the time of which another well-known character speaks, when she says—

“And morning dreams, they say, come true.”

With the comment, that no such thing is said of waking dreams, I leave it.

3. Staunton's third example is from Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, iv. 2, where Bossola, compassing and preparing the duchess's death, recites or sings,

“Hark, now every thing is still  
 \*           \*           \*           \*  
 'Tis now full tide 'tween night and day,  
 End your groan, and come away.”

Here I would simply ask, First, how the *full* tide 'twixt night and day corroborates Staunton's assertion, that midnight was reckoned the time when the ebb'd tide of night began to turn, or, as Donne, whom he quotes, expresses it, “Time's dead *low* water”? Secondly, how the strangling of the Duchess, which then takes place, shows that it was the most propitious time of death?

I conclude, therefore, as I began. First, that the superstition that death, other than violent, was coincident with the ebbing tide was, as allowed by Staunton himself, prevalent among the vulgar. Secondly, that this counter-theory, so far from over-riding the other in probability, is not proved, nor attempted to be proved, except by assertion. Neither that part of it which says, that they popularly spoke of the twenty-four hours as divided into two tides, the night-tide commencing immediately after twelve noon, and the day-tide immediately after midnight; nor the second part, that the most propitious time of death was the period of lull between the ebb of night and the flow of day, that is, about midnight. In a word, his theory is not, I believe, less absurd than the change in the text of *Henry V.*, with which he concludes his letter. In the easily understood and poetic line (I. i. 49),—

“And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,”

he would make the villainous change,

“And the mute wand'rer lurketh in men's ears.”

I call it villainous, because it is not nearly so poetical, and because it is not sense. Fancy Shakspere, who had heard the rustle of the leaves in Warwickshire, calling the air that "wanders"—"mute"! <sup>1</sup>

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[NOTE ON THE "THE TURN OF THE TIDE."]

On the coast of Cumberland the belief that people die only during ebb-tide is very common, and extends for some distance inland. A relative of mine was once in a cottage, about six miles from the sea, where an old woman lay a-dying; several people who were there declared that the old woman would linger on till the "turn of the tide," and one man asked for an almanack to determine the exact hour of high-water. It is well to note that these were not sea-faring people. This superstition is not confined to any particular districts, but may be found all over England. Most readers of David Copperfield will remember that Mr Barkis "went out with the tide."

J. N. HETHERINGTON.

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NOTINGS TO MY PAPER ON *HEBENON*, pp. 21—31.

From W. Topsell's *Historie of Serpents*, 1608, p. 176. There be also Serpents called Elephants, because whomsocuer they bite, they infect with a kind of a leprosie, &c.

*Daily Telegraph*, 18 November, 1880. From a leading Article. [According to Mde La Barca]. "The person to be inoculated [in Mexico] is pricked with the tooth of the rattlesnake on the tongue, in both arms, and in various parts of the body, and the venom is injected into the wounds. An *eruption* ensues, and when this has passed off, the inoculated person is believed to be snake-proof. . . . The moment the tiny teeth [of the snake when biting] have scratched the skin, the message of death has been convycyd, . . . and the *curdling* or *decomposing blood* has already confessed the power of the reptile's secretion."

It is needless to point out how these extracts apply. But I would remark that both Shakspere and the writer in the *Daily Telegraph* appear to use *curdling* as equivalent to *decomposing*, because the former is known to be the first change from the fluid and normal state of the blood—the first step towards decomposition, though in reality it precedes decomposition, properly so called.

"The child 3½ years old—two hours after eating the [yew] berries, was observed to look ill, . . . and became affected with *lividity* and heaviness of the eyes, as if he was about to fall asleep. Vomiting followed without any pain; and he died before a medical man, who was sent for, could arrive. . . . The dead body presented *numy livid spots* . . ." Christison on Poisons, 1845, p. 915. *Lancet*, 1836-7, i. 394. (The italics, as in the previous quotation, are mine.)—B. N.

<sup>1</sup> See note on Doll. page 226.

XI. MR SPEDDING'S PROPOSED ARRANGEMENT  
OF ACTS IN *KING LEAR*.<sup>1</sup>

BY PETER BAYNE, LL.D.

(Read at the 65th Meeting of the Society, Friday, Jan. 21, 1881.)

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It may seem unnecessary on my part to controvert Mr Spedding's proposed modification of the construction of *Lear*, if he adopts, as I understand him now to do, substantially the same view as mine touching Shakspere's main purpose and supreme achievement in the play. But his proposal cannot be separated from the reasons by which he commends it; and those reasons, as quoted by Dr Furness in his Variorum edition of *Lear*, from the *Transactions* of this Society, appear to me to be founded on a misconception of the highest excellence of the drama, the serenest perfection of its ideal beauty, the soul's soul of its transcendent pathos and immortal pain.

As I read *Lear*, the interest culminates in the fourth and fifth acts, specifically in the fifth. In the three earlier acts, the supreme interest is in the king; in the two later acts, the supreme interest is in the relation between Lear and Cordelia: and I hold that, magnificent as is the climax reached in the three earlier acts, it becomes but a minor climax when the final issue of the tragedy, not in the madness of Lear, not in the defeat of the invading army, but in the death both of Lear and Cordelia, is made apparent.

My task divides itself into two parts: first, to show that there is a real and important difference between my position and Mr Spedding's; and, second, to prove, or at least to touch on the proof, that, on the merits, my position is tenable and his untenable.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 16—19,

I. Before proceeding a step I must request the Society to consider with careful attention Mr Spedding's statement of his case. It is known to me only as quoted by Dr Furness, vol. v. of his Var. ed. of Shakspere: from *New Sh. Soc. Trans.*, Part I. p. 15, 1877-79. [Mr Spedding's statement is here supposed to be read.]

Let me place my finger on a few of those expressions which, if I have been misled as to Mr Spedding's meaning, were the means of misleading me, and ask whether they are not fitted to convey to others the impression they conveyed to me.

He thinks that, under the accepted arrangement, "in the last two acts the interest is not well sustained." I think that the interest is perfectly sustained in both, and that, in the second, it reaches a loftier height of sustainment than that of any other drama in the world.

He holds, and I deny, that, as things stand, "Lear's passion rises to its full height too early, and his decay is too long drawn out." Lear's passion, to my mind, does not reach its full ecstasy of pathos until he has the dead Cordelia in his arms, and, after that, it certainly is not long drawn out.

Mr Spedding "saw that in Shakespeare's other tragedies we are never called on to sympathize long with fortunes which are desperate. . . . The interest rises through the first four acts towards some great crisis; in the fifth it pauses for a moment, crests, and breaks; then falls away in a few short, sad scenes, like the sigh of a spent wave. But it was not so in *Lear*. The passion seemed to be at its height, and hope to be over, in the third act." I maintain, on the contrary, that, as the play now stands, we have in all essentials the same distribution of interest which we have in *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*. The death of Macbeth, the death of Hamlet, the death of Desdemona, occur in the fifth act of the respective dramas; the deaths of Lear and Cordelia occur, in like manner, in the fifth act; and there is not much more said after the death of Hamlet than there is after the death of Cordelia and of Lear.

Mr Spedding, after the close of the first three acts, "felt the want of some coming event, some crisis of expectation." Yes; and is it possible not to feel that the gist of his theory is to supply this want, to answer this expectation, with the battle? I acknowledge

that, after the insanity scenes, some coming event, some crisis of expectation, is required; but I urge that, throughout the fourth act, and even from the moment when Cordelia first appears on the stage, Shakspere has been preparing us for a crisis that will thrill us with infinitely finer and keener anguish than could arise from the mere feeling that the battle was over, and that Cordelia and Lear were prisoners.

"I cared," says Mr Spedding, "only about Lear." The words form a whole sentence. The preceding sentence is, "The fate of Edgar was not interesting enough; it seemed a separate thing, almost an intrusion upon the proper business of the play." If we understand Mr Spedding to say, as he now suggests, "I cared only about the fate of Lear," the addition makes no difference that I can perceive in his meaning. The climax and crisis which he wanted were supplied for him by the battle, if only the battle could be so placed that the audience might appreciate its momentous character, and could feel that what followed was but the "sigh of a spent wave." I confess that his reference to Edgar and Edmund, and the immediately following words, "I cared only about Lear," convey to my mind quite irresistibly the conviction that he did not, at the time of writing them, realize that the climax and transcendency of the fifth act, and of the play as a whole, depend upon the death of Cordelia. If Cordelia was in his mind, why did he not speak of her? Why did he speak of Edgar and Edmund instead? His references to Cordelia, which are meagre in the extreme, give no hint of any transcendency of importance attaching to what occurred to her *after* the battle. "The business of the last act," says Mr Spedding, "is only to gather up the issues of these unnatural divisions, and to close the eyes of the victims." I can devise no words more expressly fitted to say that, when the battle has been fought, the main work of the drama is over. My explicit contention is, that the catastrophe in the last act does not depend in this direct way upon the battle. The death of Cordelia arises from a cause independent of the battle, to wit, Edmund's wish to advance his own schemes, and actually occurs through the forgetfulness of Albany and the chance that Edmund's messenger executes his commission promptly.

In one last word, and that word Mr Spedding's, his alteration is proposed as a means of assisting the audience to realize that the battle is a "final crisis" in the fortunes of Lear. This I deny. Lear could have been perfectly happy with Cordelia, and the "final crisis" in his fortunes occurred, not when the battle was lost, but when she was dead.

To put it, then, as modestly as can be required, I have, I think, made it plain that I had reasonable grounds for concluding, from Mr Spedding's statement of his proposal, that he regarded the battle as the incident of supreme interest in the second half of the play, and that he intended to concentrate upon it the attention of the audience. For this purpose, having placed the battle in the interval between the fourth and fifth acts, he suggests that the pause might be "filled with some great battle-piece of Handel." I maintain that, if Shakspere had thus fixed the attention of the audience on the battle, he would have done something—he would have done much—to impair the effect on their minds of what he really intended to be the "final crisis" in the fortunes of Lear.

II. It is indisputable that Shakspere, in placing a battle in a mere pause in a scene, as we now have the battle in *Lear*, departs from his usual way of dealing with battles. We have, indeed, the announcement that the event takes place, and this announcement suffices for all purposes of information. Edgar leaves the stage; alarm and retreat are heard behind the scenes; Gloucester remains listening in silence to the tumult; then Edgar returns, and says that King Lear hath lost. The fact is thus distinctly embraced in the evolution of the play, but, as Mr Spedding says, no impression is made on the imagination of the audience. Just so. And if the "final crisis" in the fortunes of Lear is something quite different from the battle, there was the best reason why Shakspere should not permit it to impress the imagination of the audience.

The interest of the drama, apart from the personal relations of Lear and Cordelia, reaches its climax at the end of the third act. It might well appear that no language could be more moving or terrible than that in which Lear curses his daughters and raves amid the lightnings, no pathos more heart-rending than that of the mad and

houseless king. I suppose that, in virtue of those earlier acts alone, Shakspere might challenge comparison with, if not claim superiority to, Æschylus, Sophocles, Dante, or any other master of terror, pity, and sublimity that ever lived. But those scenes form after all but a prelude to the pathos that follows, the pathos arising out of the meeting and the parting of father and daughter. When at last Shakspere has shown us his whole power, we feel that the loss of Lear's kingdom, and even of his reason, was a small matter compared with the agony of his final separation from Cordelia. We then know that the drama of *Lear*, whatever else it may be, is first and supremely a *domestic and personal tragedy*. And if this is so, Shakspere will interest his audience in the battle as little as he reasonably can.

Observe, Shakspere cannot ignore the battle. In the first place, it is one of his characteristics to display a reverent respect even for the shadow of history passing across his page. The historical legend of Lear and his daughters included a French invasion and a defeat of the French army. With these Shakspere could not and would not dispense. In the second place, the battle is one of several incidents that contribute, when duly subordinated, to heighten the general effect. But he meddles as little with the battle as possible,—skimming lightly over it like a deft skater over a quaking spot in the ice. Apart from the risk of concentrating the attention of the audience upon the conflict, and exhausting it before the "final crisis" in the personal relations of Lear and Cordelia has arrived, there was, I believe, another motive to induce Shakspere to hurry over the battle. The English of Elizabeth's time were eminently patriotic, sensitively alive to the warlike fame of England, keenly jealous of the French. The mere fact that the historical plays were popular is sufficient to prove this. Shakspere, therefore, in placing his battle, had a ticklish problem to solve. A French army was to be defeated by an English army, and yet all the emotions which Shakspere was bent upon exciting in his audience would have been thrown into confusion if any enthusiasm had been felt by them for English victors in a battle fought between French invaders and English defenders of the soil. He meant to bespeak, in the immediate sequel, their measureless pity for Lear and Cordelia. Had there been even a wavering in the appor-

tionment of their sympathies by the audience, the simplicity of the effect would have been destroyed, the unity of the passion would have been broken. To all this Shakspere was vividly alive; he could not dare to let his audience dwell on the battle; and accordingly he does little more than curtly announce that a battle has been fought.

It is doubtless true that, in the fourth act, there are a good many references to the French army and camp. It is true also that we are told that "the arbitrement is like to be bloody." But what impresses an audience is not what they hear, but what they see; and though a considerable number of places may be enumerated in which Shakspere makes us aware that the French army has landed and is advancing, little, nevertheless, of the pomp and circumstance of war is set before the eye. The fourth act, apart from the anticipated battle, terminates in intense and sacred joy. Every resource at the command of Shakspere, whether in the way of living picture presented on the stage or in that of most moving words, is put into requisition with a view to deepen the impression of serene bliss attained to by Lear and Cordelia when their misunderstandings are removed, and there is nothing between them but perfect reconciliation and perfect peace. The death-weary old king had sunk into a stupor-like sleep. He had been carried into a tent and laid on a bed. Cordelia had ordained that soft music should play. The doctor signifies that it is time for him to awake, expressing a wish that, when he opens his eyes, the first object on which they will rest may be Cordelia. Then follow upwards of fifty lines, spoken while the dumb show of the musical awakening has been going on, in which all the power of Shakspere's genius is brought to the task of concentrating our attention upon Lear and Cordelia, isolating them from all the world, making us feel that they are all the world to each other. The impression of this unspeakable scene is still fresh upon us when the act closes.

Had the battle, which necessarily ensued about this point, directly caused the death of Lear and Cordelia, it would without question have been the "final crisis" of the drama, and Shakspere would have found means to impress it upon our imagination even more effective than those which Mr Spedding suggests. But the battle, as Shak-

spere knows well, has only an indirect and indecisive effect upon the “final crisis.” Huddling his battle over, he pointedly informs us, by the mouth of Lear, that, since it has not parted between Lear and Cordelia, it has *not* brought the catastrophe of the drama.

“Come, let’s away to prison ;  
We two alone will sing like birds i’ th’ cage.”

They are taken to prison. Edmund sends after them an order for their execution. Then, when Edmund has got his death-wound, and Albany bethinks himself of Lear and Cordelia, Edmund makes an effort to save them, and Edgar hurries off to stay their death. He is too late. Now, and not till now, do we reach the climax, the “final crisis” of the tragedy. Lear enters with Cordelia hanging senseless in his arms. Albany’s momentary lapse of memory,—Edgar’s slowness of foot,—whatever might be the accident, the chance, that occasioned the death of Cordelia,—represents, to my mind, an infinitely greater and more mysterious terror and horror than the blackness of night, or the fury of storm, or even the ingratitude of daughters. And in the words spoken by Lear when he has the dead Cordelia in his arms, or when he hangs over her with looking-glass or feather, Shakspere attains a grander though simpler pathos, a higher display of dramatic and poetical genius, than he reaches in those scenes in which Lear declaims against the thunder.

“*Lear* : Howl, howl, howl ! Oh, you are men of stones !  
Had I your tongues and eyes, I’d use them so  
That heaven’s vault should crack ! She’s gone for ever !  
I know when one is dead and when one lives.  
She’s dead as earth ! Lend me a looking-glass ;  
If that her breath will mist or stain the stone,  
Why, then she lives !

*Kent* : Is this the promised end ?  
*Lear* : The feather stirs ! she lives ! If it be so,  
It is a chance which does redeem all sorrows  
That ever I have felt.

*Kent* : O my good master !  
*Lear* : Prithee, away  
*Edgar* : ‘Tis noble Kent, your friend.  
*Lear* : A plague upon you, murderers, traitors, all !  
I might have saved her ! now she’s gone for ever !—  
Cordelia, Cordelia ! stay a little. Ha !

What is't thou say'st?—Her voice was ever soft,  
Gentle and low, an excellent thing in woman.—  
I killed the slave that was a-hanging thee.

\* \* \* \* \*

And my poor fool is hang'd. No, no, no life!  
Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life,  
And thou no breath at all? Thou'l come no more,  
Never, never, never, never!—  
Pray you, undo this button. Thank you, sir.  
Do you see this? Look on her,—look,—her lips,—  
Look there!—look there!—[Dies.]

If these lines represent the “sigh of a spent wave,” or the “closing of the eyes of the victims” after the main business of the tragedy is over,—if this anguish is a mere corollary or *addendum* to the battle,—then Mr Spedding’s alteration of the received division of acts in *Lear* is to be commended; if the crisis depicted in these lines corresponds to the death of Desdemona, the death of Hamlet, the death of Macbeth, in the respective dramas, and is in fact the climax of the whole, then it seems to me that it were better to leave the received text alone.

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[NOTE TO MY PAPER “ON FOUR PASSAGES IN *HENRY V.*,”  
p. 203-218.]

Mr W. G. Stone has kindly reminded me of Doll Common in the Alchemist, which I had stupidly forgotten. The importance of the instance lies in this. Shakspere evidently intended to give Tearsheet as a significant name. Jonson was the writer of that day who habitually and on principle gave significant names to his characters—Brainworm, Downright, Wellbred, Macilente, Fastidious, Brisk, Volpone, Mosce, Sir Politick Would-be, &c. &c. Hence the fixing by both upon the one prænomen ‘Doll’ in both instances, or I may say in the three instances, is proof that it also was considered significant.—B. N.

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*Taste your legs, sir.* *Tw. N. III. 1. 75.* This phrase, used by Sir Toby, and as I take it a cut by Shakspere at one of the fashionable cant or affected phrases of the day, I found used by a Devonshire carrier to his horse in R. D. Blackmore’s tale of Christowell in *Good Words*, 1881. On enquiry, that gentleman informs me that he has not borrowed it from Shakspere, but that ‘taste’—which he is inclined to think is, in its provincial use, a variant of ‘test’—is in common use in Devonshire both in this phrase and in others.—B.N.

XII. NOTES ON *ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL*.

BY J. G. A. DOW, M.A. LUKE FELLOW, GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.

*(Read at the 73rd Meeting of the Society, Friday, November 11, 1881.)*

*ALL'S WELL* is a drama of the temperate zone. There is neither meridian sunshine nor northern storm. We do not feel the warm breath of the south wind: we do not listen to the moan of the north sea. But we stand looking on what some might call a tame landscape, rather deficient in colouring, with a gray English sky over it all. There is an afternoon air about the piece. The sun has gone westward, and the very title of the drama suggests a quiet English sunset in September. The midday blaze of Romeo's passion is over, and we have yet to hear the howl of the winds that burst at midnight on Lear's head. But the afternoon is passing: we are in a transition stage. We have left the luxuriant efflorescence of Titania's bower and the 'golden world' of the Forest of Arden. We have lost for ever the burning cheeks of Juliet and the roguish amorous eyes of Rosalind. Youth is gone with its affectuous capriccios. And we are yet to witness the Soul's Tragedy of the Poet, the gloom of night descending on him as it must descend on each who endeavours to rede the riddle. By the anguish of fierce lightning we shall see him sitting in the Valley of the Shadow. We are here between the burning sunshine and the tragic gloom. It is as if we were just come into the more serious affairs of life. Shakspere has begun to be earnest, to realize that "the web of our life is of a mingled yarn," to speculate upon the human soul as a compound "of good and ill together," to beat out of his heart a key to the mystery. He sits down by the Gateway of the Valley, and reflects. He is so full of thought that he can call up little more of his late exuberance of joy than a sober smile. He is begun to be "wrapt in dismal thinkings." Nay he even inclines to be caustic. "Sharp stings are in his mildest words."

So much is this the case that it is hardly correct to call the play a comedy. Both the comic characters and the comic scenes are suffused with such a light from the dramatist's grave eyes, as renders them almost serious. Perhaps the most humorous touch in the play is observed in the merry twinkle of Diana Capulet's eye when she is bewildering both king and lords with her evidence. She knows she is in no danger, that the end will show that all is well. She has a taste for humour that makes her enjoy the spectacle of Bertram wishing to hide. She speaks with a 'malicious mockery' that reminds us of the naughty wench whose trickery carried the heart of Sir Toby Belch. We enjoy her suppressed laugh when she sees the king and old Lafeu staring at one another helpless with astonishment, and Bertram divided between distraction at his own shame and confounding at the holy-cruel virgin's hardihood. But the scene is not comic. The humiliation of Bertram is not laughable because it is not single-sided. There is the injured wife waiting at the door to be admitted, and we look forward to the closing impression of the piece. We are to have the satisfaction, if we can, that Bertram's vagaries are over; we are to leave him in the arms of brave little Helena who has watched and guarded him, has won him, and is pleased with him, who is confident, let us hope, of his development into genuine manliness. We are to believe that the bitter is past and 'all is well ended.'

The only characters in the drama that can lay claim to a comic rôle are Parolles and the clown—both of them original introductions of Shakspere into Boccaccio's story. But Lavache has an instinct towards domesticity and seriousness that remove him from the companionship of Touchstone. "He is a shrewd knave and an unhappy." He is a genuine growth of Shakspere's mind at this stage of his life, for Shakspere had begun to see the world "wanton sickle as one surfetting on sinne." The fool is at all times an element in Shakspere's reflex of life. Perhaps this is because folly is a principal element in life itself, and so much of the world's wisdom is only a wise folly. Perhaps it is because we relish folly even when we are most inclined to seriousness, for even the staid countess can "play the noble housewife with the time and entertain it merrily

with a fool," and even Olivia with the ache in her breast can pass a while bandying light chatter with her clown "for want of other idleness." Perhaps it is because Shakspere must have outlet for that fountain of humour that was bubbling up within him, because the grotesqueness of life's relations bore in upon him so irresistibly, that while he was writing he must either have a fool or a separate notebook. Perhaps he had a suspicion that the vote between the world and the fool is in many cases like that between the world and the madman, merely the vote of the majority. Perhaps he saw the sick world, "leaning on her elbowe, devising what doctour may deliver her, what phisicke may free her," and this is the anodyne, the sugared pill, the feather in the ear that makes each ass forget his load a little. What are we to make of this?—"I am a woodland fellow, sir," says the clown to Lafeu, after declaring that he serves the Black Prince, the Prince of Darkness, "that always loved a great fire; and the master I speak of ever keeps a good fire. But sure he is the prince of the world: let his nobility remain in's court. I am for the house with the narrow gate, which I take to be too little for pomp to enter: some that humble themselves may; but the many will be too chill and tender, and they'll be for the flowery way that leads to the broad gate and the great fire." Whatever Shakspere felt when he wrote that speech, we should hardly call it comic, however comical we might consider the subject.

Parolles is the other. He is provided by the dramatist as a means to the development of Bertram and to the more natural consummation of the plot. He is so life-like that we cannot endure him. The only thing comic about him is the shadow he casts. It is not himself we laugh at: it is the mirth he affords to the merry soldiers. It is not the target: it is the marksmen that supply us the fun. He is a mere butt, this Parolles, the parlant, who knows German, French, Italian, Danish, Low Dutch, who "loves not many words—more than a fish loves water," who is "ready to speak that which you will wonder at," an if he do not, damn him. He is utterly different from genial Jack Falstaff. He has no cleverness, no humour, no metal in him. He is not only "a notorious liar," but he is "a great way fool, solely a coward," one that "lies three-thirds

and uses a known truth to pass a thousand nothings with"—a jackanapes; "flaunting in scarfs and bannerets, with his arms gartered up, his sleeves like hose"—whom to look at is to ask "who's his tailor?" and if, according to the authorized diagnosis of dandies, that look satisfies him, it also is enough to satisfy us that "the soul of this man is his clothes." We look at this "window of lattice" and we look through it. Even his outward manners are "scurvy courtesies." He disgusts everybody—but Bertram. We, too, with the clown, hold our noses, and say to him "Prithee get thee further." He is more like the creation of a satirist than that of a comic dramatist. I have no doubt Shakspere meant him to be a comic character, but there are features of this creation which prevent us from regarding him merely as such. He is not created merely to be comic. The very position which he is introduced to occupy, the part which he is made to take in the development, has a meaning other than ludicrous. Even John Drum's entertainment is depicted not for our amusement so much as for the edification of Bertram. This 'very tainted fellow' is created in order to be utterly and unsparingly humiliated. Such a picture of innate worthlessness, for a time successful, finally covered with mud, once having "held familiarity with fresher clothes," at last flung into "an unclean fish-pond," might have been sketched by Thackeray. But towards the close the heart of the poet relents. He has laid him stript in the kennel, what says he there?

"If my heart were great,  
 'Twould burst at this. Captain I'll be no more ;  
 But I will eat and drink, and sleep as soft  
 As captain shall. Simply the thing I am  
 Shall make me live. . . . .  
 Rust, sword ! cool, blushes ! and, Parolles, live  
 Safest in shame ! being fooled, by foolery thrive !  
 There's place and means for every man alive.  
 I'll after them."

This "snipt-taffeta fellow" is not worth being angry with. It was Lafeu first found him: and though the old lord, endeavouring to unmask him, does him the "most insupportable vexation," and finds him "scarce worth taking up," yet in the end, when he sees him

"cruelly scratched of fortune," he says to the ragged, dirty dandy, "Though you *are* a knave and a fool, you shall eat : go to, follow."

There are the comic characters. This 'Comedy' has almost the tone of a man who is beginning to discover that his honeymoon is spent. More seriously, it is the work of one who has turned away from watching the last gleam of youth vanishing, and whose experience makes him sad: it is a comedy written by Jaques. There is no resemblance between it and the *Taming of the Shrew* or *Lore's Labour's Lost*, except in some mechanical details of playwright work. I can understand Shakspere selecting this subject when he was younger to make a comedy out of it. It is also easy to understand that he should resume it with a riper experience, and recast it into what the subject will alone bear to become within the limits of delicacy—a serious drama. A comedy out of this plot was more befitting Wycherley than Shakspere. He seems to have taken up sorrowfully the work of his youth, and felt while remoulding it that "we would be young again if we could."

It does not appear to me that there is any central idea in this play such as generates volumes of German criticism. It appears idle to attempt with Gervinus et hoc genus omne to reduce any one of Shakspere's plays to a single element, to babble about the idea of the play, the moral centre of the play, the spiritual centre of the play, from which all the rest is to radiate off. Such an attempt reminds us of the essayist in Natural History who retired into his study to evolve, from the depths of his own consciousness, the *ideu* of a camel. It looks much like the workings of that children's toy known as the Wheel of Life. Take anywhere in life a combination of individuals such as you see in one of Shakspere's plays: is there any moral or spiritual centre to which all may be said to converge, any philosophastrian 'idea' by which all may be explained? There is no single character in life that can be explained in this way except perhaps a fanatic or a philosopher; much less can any combination of characters. Granted that Shakspere selects, and that he has a plot: that is far from saying that he selects and plots from a spiritual centre, and still further from saying that his men and women are to be explained with his plots and his selection from some

pre-conceived central idea. Walter Scott selects and has plots, and the full moon exhibits not a greater perfection of roundness and unity than his work : but to explain the characters and action of any of his novels by dyspeptic jargon about spiritual centres and the idea of the piece, would hardly occur to any one short of a German professor.

For as dull as a first cursory reading might lead one to consider this play, there burns through it a glow of life which we miss in the vivacity of Shakspere's earlier performances. There is an under-breathing intensity, a strength of passion not unlike that which carries us through the seemingly dull pages of *Wuthering Heights*. At the very beginning our interest is centred in the sensitive girl who but for a few words stands silent while the adieus are being spoken, the fervour of whose feeling prevents her even from saying a word when, with tears in her eyes, she shakes hands, we may say, with him of whom her heart is too sorrowfully filled. Then when all are gone she waits beside us and thinks aloud, drawing us toward her with sympathy for that grief which she not merely affects, revealing a heart that has experienced the passion of love,—not the amusement, not as a sweet slight pleasure, but as a terrible reality which has become for her the whole meaning of life. Like Giglietta of the tale, she has fallen fervently in love with Bertram, more than is meet for a maiden of her age. Even the image of her dead father is driven out by Bertram's. Her imagination carries in it no favour but Bertram's. There is no living, none, if Bertram be away. Yet—

“ ’Twere all one  
That I should love a bright particular star  
And think to wed it, he is so above me.

The hind that would be mated with the lion  
Must die for love.”

The love of this woman's heart bears us through the play.

When Bertram goes, Helena has at first no thought of seeing him again. Her only thought is in her idolatrous fancy to sanctify his relics ; the only compensation she has for the plaguing prettiness of seeing him every hour and drawing “ his archèd brows, his hawking

eye, his curls" in the too capable tablet of her heart. In the infatuation of her passion she loves even Parolles for Bertram's sake, and all but unbosoms the fulness of her feeling in his ears. It is perhaps because she knows he is too dull a fool to comprehend, that she eases the throbbing of her heart in a whirl of passionate utterance, speaking of "a thousand loves." But the inspiration of her love is embodied in such wisdom and clear insight as reveal that it is no "blinking Cupid gossips" in "that world of pretty fond adoptious Christendoms," but a strong divinity that looks into Bertram's need of "a guide, a counsellor, a friend." Her passion is not blind like Juliet's or Olivia's, demanding only possession. She sees what Bertram requires, and she is conscious of her own strength to prove herself his goddess and his sovereign. "I'll never do *you* wrong for your own sake," she says afterwards to one of the French lords, but some of her Christendoms here show that she was prepared to do Bertram an outward wrong for his own sake. She even says that he will find in her 'an enemy.' But she knows that if he will take her, by making his ambition humble, she will convert his humility into something proud. She has a rare confidence that she will be

" His jarring concord and his discord dulcet,  
His faith, his sweet disaster."

When Shakspere's characters feel poetry, they utter it. They are given to expression. They are passionate, and they speak their passion. What we mortals in life feel, they express. Their tumult of the heart is given utterance in multitudinous metaphors. So Helena speaks here. This is one of the necessities of dramatic representation. Miss Evans<sup>1</sup> could maintain a running commentary of analysis: Shakspere has no parallel column. His characters have to do all for themselves. We do not consider them unreal in this. Perhaps we should not express ourselves in such terms, but it is only through outward expression that their emotion can be revealed to us, and having felt this we at once grant its truth and genuineness. We know that the language in their mouth is a reflex of their state of mind, and the confusion or exaggeration of figures is but the

<sup>1</sup> George Eliot, Mrs Cross.

intermixture or intensity of their feelings made outward. A similar dramatic necessity produces the soliloquies. That we may follow their thoughts, it is necessary that they should think aloud. Overlooking this mechanical necessity, all the rest is truth. Their soliloquies are always their natural thoughts: sometimes they are ours, if the circumstances are parallel. Not a few have lived through Hamlet's "To be, or not to be."

It is from one of these soliloquies, the one spoken when Parolles leaves her, we gather that Helena's decisive strength has beaten her passion into a resolve: she has made up her mind to go after Bertram. It is interesting to notice how Shakspere has here varied the course laid down for him in the original story. The project itself is taken from Giglietta, who "being verie pensife" for Beltramo's departure, longs "only to see the young counte," but cannot find "a lawfull occasion to goe to Paris." But Helena is swifter in resolve; and circumstance is altered to suit her speed. Giglietta has to wait until she "refuses many husbandes." She can find no convenient way to accomplish her journey, "being diligently looked to by her kinsfolke." It is only after she has heard that Beltramo is "grown to the estate of a goodly young gentleman," that the desired occasion is furnished by report of the king's disease. In the play the fistula is spoken of in the opening scene, and the scene closes with Helena's resolution to provide her own remedy. For the improbability of the story Shakspere is not accountable: his supreme own merit is that by force of heart-love he has rendered improbability probable. Here, as in every spot where his creative touch has rested, we have living human beings, with their passions, their inconsistencies, their mystery. He has taken up a mechanised lascivious story and transformed it into a creation of the most genuine artistic delicacy, and shown us how it might have been realized in actual life. He has breathed the breath of his own life into the personages. We see that they have hearts and minds, and we are interested in them for their own sakes, just as we are interested in one another. Giglietta in the tale is "wonderfull glad" when she hears of the king's disease: she sees in it "an occasion, if the disease were such, easily to bryng to passe that she might have the counte Beltramo to

her husbande." Helena is preserved to womanhood by not seeing so far: she merely tells us that "her intents are fixed, and will not leave her." She has in view the winning of Bertram, indeed; but she does not "follow him by any token of presumptuous suit." She will not have him "until she does deserve him." She is not a black-and white husband-seeker like Giglietta. She is so human that she cannot be put down in a single sentence. All we can read of her at this stage is that she cannot be away from Bertram, and she is determined to risk the journey to Paris, "striving against hope," "knowing she loves in vain," yet vaguely endeavouring to know "how her desert should be." She "loves dearly" and "wishes chastely," but her utterance is "in the most bitter touch of sorrow." It is only when she is strengthened by the benign Countess's "leave and love,"—a touch of Shakspere and of nature added to Boccaccio's picture—that she is fortified to the "strange attempt" which she accomplishes in presence of the king.

She is a lovely woman, this Countess, saddened and made sweet by sorrow. Her stateliness and calm are derived, not from nobility of birth and rank, but from "many quirks of joy and grief." Her experience has filled her heart with sympathy. She too has bled from the thorn that belongs to our rose of youth. Her own "remembrances of days foregone" are awakened at sight of "the distempered messenger of wet" in Helena's eye. Sweetly human, she recognizes "the show and seal of nature's truth" in the love's strong passion of Helena for her son: and she favours this, because she disbelieves in titles that are not of nature's creation. She believes with the king that "good alone is good without a name." And she sees that Helena with her fair gifts "without other advantage may lawfully make title to as much love as she finds." When she learns of her rash and unbridled boy's repudiation of Helena's "dear perfection," having the image of her dead lord in her memory, she is ready to wash Bertram's name out of her blood, and say to Helena, "Thou art all my child." For

"that is honour's scorn  
Which challenges itself as honour's born  
And is not like the sire."

But withal she has a great love for her boy. She believes there is nothing in France too good for him, save only Helena. Her heart is divided in the endeavour to keep them both. Which of them is dearest to her, she has "no skill in sense to make distinction." She "loves her gentlewoman entirely": though Helena had partaken of her own flesh, she says she could not have owed her a more rooted love. Afterward though she thinks Bertram had been the death of the "most virtuous gentlewoman that ever nature had praise for creating," she pleads his excuse with the king, beseeching his majesty to "make it natural rebellion, done i' the blaze of youth."

Very likely the fond mother spoilt this son of hers. When we know him first, he singularly resembles a spoilt child. He has all the unthinking selfishness of one accustomed to gratify every whim, all the foward pride and moral helplessness of one unaccustomed to look beyond himself. He imagines himself a superior being to Helena because his father was called a count. With boyish disdain he exclaims to the king: "A poor physician's daughter my wife! I know her well: she had her breeding at my father's charge." Then with the weakness of a spoilt child he recants, and when he considers what "dole of honour" flies where the king bids it, finds "the praiséd of the king so ennobled as she were born so." He takes her hand. He has not courage to persist in his refusal. But he shclters himself behind deceit. The two-faced imbecile does what the king tells him, in order that he may get outside and run away. Nor does he stop here. He sends a lying message to Helena to excuse himself with her, and turning to characteristic account her faith and ingenuous nature, he commands her to go and tell a lie to the king that he may excuse himself with him. He is desperate to get away, and he will stick at no deceit until he does get away. Then when he is out of reach he can afford to send his pusillanimous impudence in letters. Parolles is the fit companion of such a creature.

It is Helena upon whom Shakspere has lavished his idolatrous care: she is the Drama. Coleridge has called her "the loveliest of Shakspere's characters." All, except Bertram, she captivates.

Her "wisdom and constancy" carry old Lafeu's head, and he can scarcely contain himself when he thinks that the lords are refusing her hand. The king declares, with some warmth, "all that life can rank worth name of life have estimate in her"—

"Youth, beauty, wisdom, courage, all  
That happiness and prime can happy call."

All the lords are willing to marry her. Her praise is everywhere.

"Her beauty did astonish the survey  
Of richest eyes, her words all ears took captive,  
Her dear perfection hearts that scorned to serve  
Humbly called mistress."

Diana and the widow conspire for her, follow her to France, and declare—

"Let death and honesty  
Go with her impositions, and they are hers  
Upon her will to suffer."

But we are impatient of others' praises of this maiden with her loveliness of form and soul, her sweetness and delicacy, her wise words falling from lips so young and fair, her fervour and her sadness, her soft invincibility, her strong submissiveness. The single flaw in her "dear perfection" is her love for Bertram. Yet it is to this that all her action and her feeling have reference. It is this infatuation that "goads her by most sharp occasions," and carries her through circumstances where her tenderness without her strength would shrink so summarily to "lay nice manners by." She will risk anything for the creature of her adoration ; but her tender womanhood, notwithstanding her courage, feels the blushes on her cheek when she is to choose from the assembled lords. But she is staking her whole existence on this hazard : if she is refused "let the white death sit on her cheek for ever." Unlike Giglietta, she has not a thought of turning to mercenary matrimonial account the king's obligation to his preserver by securing his kingly command that Bertram shall marry her. When Bertram says that he cannot love her, and will not strive to do it, she turns with a pang of resignation to the king, as though all were ended, and her existence had lost its meaning :—

"That you are well restored, my lord, I'm glad :  
Let the rest go."

She is not, indeed, a woman like Viola, who will let concealment feed on her damask cheek. But she is from pole to pole removed from that growth of modern 'civilization'—a strong-minded female. That willingness of hers to retire wounded, with only blackness and blank before her, is the very flower and coronation of her womanly nature. In this single touch of the master's hand all the difference between her and Giglietta, all the difference between Shakspere and Boccaccio is consummated.

The perfection of that love which casts out fear is revealed in her satisfaction when Bertram at last agrees to take her—we might almost say, it is that folly of passion which brings blindness. She never suspects that he is deceiving her: she is willing in everything to wait upon his will. She has given herself and service, ever whilst she lives, into his guiding power. Her penetration, so acute in all else, finds no employment when she is speaking with Bertram. When he makes explanation about his departure she is not doubtful of his intention: she is trustfully resigned. With her heart in a flutter, she timorously ventures a hint that he might kiss her before he goes: let us hope that he had not the courage to perpetrate a refusal which would have crushed her opening bud of joy. She retires, and the pair, Bertram and Parolles, are left to mutual praiseworthiness—the Parolles, the Bertram—a pair that might properly have been hooted and pelted off the stage.

At last Helena learns the truth, terrible to her. In broken utterances she can only say, "My lord is gone, for ever gone," "This is a dreadful sentence," "'Tis bitter." The stinging pathos of her brief words pierces the more acutely, coming from one whose plenitude of thought and feeling has grown with no habit of full expression. She is at all times a woman of few words, and she seems to be one who has found life too serious for indulgence in trivial things. That we encounter her in the complete ardour of that passion, which has entered into the very core of her being, and transfuses every part of her existence with its intense earnestness, favours, by its revelation of that to which her passion develops her, instead of

precluding, our generalization that she is a woman the look of whose eyes forbids us to expect from her the charm of a sportive wit and fancy. Granting to the full her continuous tension of soul as we observe her, we can imagine none of the frolic merriment of girlhood in Helena, even at her natural ease as she may have been before she merged her personality in Bertram. Adorned in her ingenuous nature with all the graciousness and grace of womanhood, she has none of the brilliance of Beatrice or the beautiful sweep of Cleopatra's glory. Her present resemblance to her foster-mother indicates that one day, when the play is closed and perhaps Bertram dead, she will be another Countess of Rousillon, only wiser, stronger, shrewder, than the previous one.

Though Bertram were to slay her, yet would she trust him. Even in her desertion when she has been cheated, insulted, and cast off by him, with an exquisite unselfishness beside which her husband is irredeemably black, she only upbraids herself for the injury she has done him in "chasing him from his country, and exposing those tender limbs of his to the event of the none-sparing war." The thought is too cruel to endure : she will steal away, like a poor thief, and let rumour be carried to him of her flight "to console his ear," and let him return to the possession of his own. She does not quit her home with a scheme for the accomplishment of his conditions : she goes, a despairing wanderer, and it is only after she has gone, giving up all, that matters become clearer to her, and she is enabled to resolve and act once more. She never flinches in her faithfulness to him. Even when she finds him revelling with all a soldier's license in Florence, she appears as one whose vision of eventual felicity has drawn her eyes beyond present unseemliness and the misery of mistrust. Even in the final scene when he has been utterly exposed and overwhelmed with shame, she has no word of reproach for him : her perfect truth can imagine nothing more grievous than "deadly divorce" from her beloved.

This is the one flaw in Helena—her love of Bertram. We find no fault in her, except that she can be fond of such a creature. He is no doubt a handsome youth : he has inherited a goodly face and shape from his father. But he gives no evidence of having a mind,

unless what is revealed in the beastly appetite for fighting. It is inexplicable that Helena should so entirely lose herself in contemplation of such a cruel, cunning, deceitful, selfish animal, however perfect the lines and curves of his figure. The case is infinitely worse than that of Maggie Tulliver and Stephen Guest,<sup>1</sup> or of Dorothea and Will Ladislaw.<sup>2</sup> Towards the Stephens of actual life we are usually indifferent: things like them have not the force to move our feelings. They are worthless, but they are commonly harmless. It is only against Stephen as the accepted of Maggie, that our indignation rises. And for Will Ladislaw, we almost like him, if Dorothea would not. But Bertram is more than completely worthless; he is corrupt. Apart from Helena's love for him and his rejection of her, we cannot suppress into indifference our angry disgust that such a being should live and prosper. It is said that he is brave: his bravery is merely that of a lower animal, a bulldog, a fighting cock. Where is his courage when he is brought face to face with Diana Capulet whom he meant to seduce and to abandon? That is the same bravery as he showed towards Helena and the king, when he made himself a jest for the Clown by telling lies and running away. We wonder what Helena sees in him to love, just as we look at Dorothea, and wonder, and at Maggie Tulliver, and wonder. But Shakspere understood the mystery of love as intimately as did Miss Evans, and we evidently speak his mind as well as hers when we repeat the commonplace of Adam Bede's Diana, that "it is mysterious how one draws to another." Helena is successful. Her Love's Labour has won. But what, after all, *has* it won? Bertram!

<sup>1</sup> 'Mill on the Floss.'<sup>2</sup> 'Middlemarch': George Eliot.

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*Buttery-bar*, sb. *Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 74. "Come to the **Buttery bar**, stitty stitty stammerer, come honest constable, hey the watch of our towne, we'll drinke tryll I faith." 1600. *Looke about you*, sig. C 2, back

*fico*, sb. a fig: *My. Wives*, I. iii. 33. "Fico, a figge . . Also a flurt with ones fingers giuen in disgrace; *fare le fico*, to bid a figge for one." 1598. Florio. *A Worlde of Wordes*.







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